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Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz: *Die Soldaten*. Heinar Kipphardt: *Die Soldaten nach Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. Bearbeitung*. A Comparison.

by

(C)

Elaine Ann Humphries

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz: *Die Soldaten*. Heinar Kipphardt: *Die Soldaten nach Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. Bearbeitung*. A Comparison. submitted by Elaine Ann Humphries in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in German Literature.

Alison Scott-Prelorentzos

Supervisor

Edward Mozejko

Date. 31st October, 1983

Dedication

To Herbert Sowerby, John Marshall, Dr. David Howell and my parents – my example and inspiration.

Abstract

Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz is fundamentally important for the development of social drama in Germany, yet his plays remain obscure. *Die Soldaten* is a difficult play, both structurally and thematically, and has, therefore, received little attention on the stage. Heinar Kipphardt's *Bearbeitung* is an attempt to rectify this situation. The adapter states his intention is to modify only where necessary; his aim is not to use the Lenz original as the basis for a new work but merely to modernise to make the play more pertinent to the modern audience.

The thesis is divided into four main chapters. Chapters One and Two give an introduction to the two authors, Chapters Three and Four look at the two plays themselves:

Chapter One is concerned to confront the difficulties which Lenz's play contain and give a brief appreciation of the original work;

Chapter Two places the adaptation within Kipphardt's *oeuvre* and traces the appeal Lenz has for Kipphardt;

Chapter Three undertakes a close textual comparison of the two plays, placing particular emphasis on the changes made in the revision;

Chapter Four analyses the import of these alterations on plot, character and overall meaning. These interpretations are compared to Kipphardt's own treatise on the alterations he makes to see whether he has managed to keep to the spirit of the original.

Acknowledgment

I wish to thank all those who have assisted me in the course of this thesis, in particular: Dr. Alison Scott-Prelorentzos for her constant help and encouragement; Dr. Peter Tyson and Dr. Holger Pausch for their additional suggestions; Brian McGugan and my long-suffering flat-mates for their continued moral support.

List of Abbreviations

Briefe I and II = *Briefe von und an J.M.R. Lenz*. 2 Vols. Eds. Karl Freye and Wolfgang Stammler. 1918; rpt. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1969.

Dvjs = *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*.

F.A.Z. = *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

KLG = *Kritisches Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur*. Ed. Heinz Ludwig Arnold. Munich: Text und Kritik, 1978.

Ts = *Theaterstücke* I. By Heinar Kipphardt. Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1968.

WuS = *Werke und Schriften*. By Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. 2 Vols. Eds. Britta Titel and Helmut Haug. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966 and 1967.

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I. Lenz's *Die Soldaten*

> Er [Lenz] hatte nämlich einen entschiedenen Hang zur Intrige, und zwar zur Intrige an sich, ohne dass er eigentliche Zwecke, verständliche, selbstische, erreichbare Zwecke dabei gehabt hätte; vielmehr pflegte er sich immer etwas Fratzenhaftes vorzusetzen, und eben deswegen diente es ihm zur beständigen Unterhaltung. Auf diese Weise war er zeitlebens ein Schelm in der Einbildung, seine Liebe wie sein Hass waren imaginär, mit seinen Vorstellungen und Gefühlen verfuhr er willkührlich, damit er immerfort etwas zu tun haben möchte. Durch die verkehrtesten Mittel suchte er seinen Neigungen und Abneigungen Realität zu geben, und vernichtete sein Werk immer wieder selbst; und so hat er niemanden, den er liebte, jemals genützt, niemanden, den er hasste, jemals geschadet, und im ganzen schien er nur zu sündigen, um sich strafen, nur zu intrigieren, um eine neue Fabel auf eine alte propfen zu können.'

Thus runs Goethe's infamous portrait of his erstwhile fellow-poet Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. Infamous not only because it is for Goethe "a rare example of a personal injustice"[2] but more importantly because "kaum ein anderes literarisches porträt hat die vorstellungen der nachwelt so entschiedend geprägt [...]".[3] The image of the fawning, whimsical,[4] impressionable Livonian coloured most nineteenth-century criticism and it is only the post-1960s' interest in this enigmatic figure and the rise of *werkimmanente* criticism which has accorded Lenz a position

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'Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 14. Buch *Goethes Werke*, Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden, ed. Erich Trunz (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlag, 1981), X,8.
[2]Roy Pascal, *The German Sturm and Drang*, (Manchester: University Press, 1953), p.27.
[3]Eva Maria Inbar, "Goethes Lenz-Porträt," in *Wirkendes Wort*, 28 (1968), 422. No capitals in original.
[4]*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 11. Buch, IX,495.

of importance based on his actual works and not on the idiosyncrasies of his life and loves. This brings to mind a maxim of A.J.P. Taylor's that the values of the present are all too frequently used to understand the past. When the past itself, in the form of a damning invective by one of the great men of literature,[5] offers questionable values, it is little wonder that Lenz, when he has evoked any serious interest, has caused such dissension amongst critics. It is not even as if Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* portrayal is exemplary of the views of contemporaries. The appearance of Lenz's *Anmerkungen übers Theater* elicited high praise from Heinrich Leopold Wagner: "[...] in jedem Zuge die Hand eines Meisters erkennbar",[6] and even Wieland, against whom Lenz had railed in his piece *Die Wolken* (1775),[7] has a somewhat more sympathetic word for the young writer:

> Lenz ist ein heteroklites Geschöpf; gut und fromm wie ein Kind, aber zugleich voller Affenstreiche, daher er oft ein schlimmerer Kerl scheint, als er ist und zu seyn Vergnügen hat. Er hat viel Imagination und wenig Verstand, viel *pruritum* und wenig wahre Zeugungskraft; möchte immer was beginnen und wirken, und weiss nicht was, und richtet, wie die Kinder, manchmal Unheil an, ohne Bosheit, blos, weil er nichts anderes zu thun weiss.[8]

However Lenz was able to excite such attention for only a

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[5] Inbar makes the point, however, that the portrait appears in a work of literature and therefore has a different intention than a factual account (pp.422–429).

[6] *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeige*, 29 Nov. 1774. Quoted in *WuS*, I,648.

[7] Lenz later prevented publication and destroyed the work once he realised he was to meet Wieland in Weimar.

[8] *Briefe an J.H. Merck*, ed. Karl Wagner, I (Darmstadt: J.P. Diehl, 1835), 100. Also, although heavily underlined with irony, Wieland's comments on *Anmerkungen übers Theater* show a certain appreciation of Lenz. (*Teutscher Merkur*, Jan. 1775, quoted in *WuS*, I,648).

brief period, leaving the scene of eighteenth-century literature as a madman, leaving it, in fact, so completely that his death passed almost unnoticed.[9]

Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz was born on 23rd January, 1751, the son of a Livonian clergyman in Sesswegen on the Baltic. Despite a few early attempts at writing he seemed set to follow his father's profession, enrolling as a theology student in Königsberg, but life as a man of the cloth was not for Lenz. He left Königsberg as chaperon to two young aristocrats intent on enlisting in the French army, and made his entrance into the glittering scene in Strassburg. The brief period 1772–1776 saw Lenz's pen scarcely ever inactive: plays, translations from the Latin and the English, tracts, and numerous fragments flooded from the imagination of this friend of Salzmann, Goethe, Wagner, indeed, of all the leading lights of the Strassburg literati. Lenz followed Goethe to Weimar but the intrigues of courtly life were not destined to be his forté, and after an incident immortalised in Goethe's diary as "Lenzens Eseley"[10] he was banished. The meteor that was Lenz was rapidly fizzling out. The signs of his illness were

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[9]The only obituary that appeared in Germany was, at best, ambiguous: "Dieser unglückliche Gelehrte[...]verlebte den besten Teil seines Lebens in nutzloser Geschäftigkeit ohne eigentliche Bestimmung. Von allen verkannt, gegen Mangel und Dürftigkeit kämpfend, entfernt von allem, was ihm teuer war, verlor er doch nie das Gefühl seines Wertes; sein Stolz wurde durch unzählige Demütigungen noch mehr gereitzt und artete endlich doch in jenem Trotz aus, der gewöhnlich der Gefährt der edlen Armut ist" (*Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 18 Aug. 1792).

[10]In a diary entry of Goethe's, 21 Nov. 1776.

increasingly obvious'[11] and after a period with Pastor Oberlin, made famous by Büchner's fictional account, Lenz began to be a burden on his Strassburg aquaintances'[12] and in 1779 his family finally aquiesced to requests to take him home. Little more was heard of Lenz'[13] and this demise has added much to the aura surrounding him: the mad poet rejected by society, the artist out of his time whose genius was spurned, the love-sick youth never to taste the fruit of true love.

His twilight years ended when he was found dead in the streets of Moscow on the night of 3/4 June, 1792. Lenz's position as a writer so modern his contemporaries could not accept him, coupled with the fact that his madness precluded any co-operation with Weimar Classicism, has made it easy for Lenz to be judged an anomaly of his period, and a victim of contemporary taste.

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[11]Two recent medical studies have dealt with Lenz's failing mental health. It would appear to be catatonia, a form of schizophrenia. See Johanna Beuthner, "Der Dichter Lenz. Beurteilung und Behandlung seiner Krankheit durch seine Zeitgenossen," Med. Diss. Freiburg 1968, and Herwig Böcker, "Die Zerstörung der Persönlichkeit durch die beginnende Schizophrenie," Med. Diss. Bonn 1969.

[12]Lenz spent much time under the aegis of Schlosser and although the latter never complained of financial burden, Lenz was obviously trying, and difficult to assimilate into the life of the family. See M.N. Rosanow, *Jakob M.R. Lenz. Der Dichter der Sturm und Drang Periode. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, (1909; rpt. Leipzig: Zentralantequariat der DDR, 1972), p.393f.

[13]Hans N. Wolff points out, however, that after his return to Riga Lenz lived what was considered a perfectly normal existence. He worked as a tutor and the Russian writer Karamsin had a great deal of respect for him. Hans M. Wolff, "The controversy over the theatre in Lenz's *Die Soldaten*," in *Germanic Review*, 14 (1939), 147f. The space dedicated to this period in Rosanow also testifies to this.

Lenz's placement in that group of writers known to subsequent generations as *Sturm und Drang* is no simple matter to decide. Perhaps the most appealing element of the movement is lost once analysis begins, for as W.H. Bruford says, these plays "possess together with obvious immaturities a freshness and spontaneity which are attractive even today, if we read the texts themselves, before losing ourselves in the web of theory which has been spun around them by generations of literary historians".[14] It is perhaps more than anything this vitality which characterises the nova that was *Sturm und Drang*. The hot-headedness, the disregard of, in fact, open opposition to literary heritage and the very youthfulness of the movement have made it an appealing area of investigation. However, as Elizabeth Genton states: "Die ideologische Revolte der siebziger Jahre kann nicht nur auf die einfache Formel: Gefühl gegen Verstand, Natur gegen Zivilisation und schöpferische Freiheit gegen Regelzwang zurückgeführt werden".[15] No literary movement stands in isolation and the *Sturm und Drang*, for all its rantings against the Enlightenment, drew much of its inspiration from there. The ideas of equality, of freedom, and the search for a method to implement these are all bones of contention upon which the Enlightenment had also chewed. This stress on freedom

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[14]W.H. Bruford, *Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950), p.203.
[15]Elizabeth Genton, "Lenz – Klinger – Wagner. Studien über die rationalistischen Elemente in Denken und Dichten des Sturmes und Dranges," Phil. Diss. F.U. Berlin 1955, p.5.

and equality has been seen as a concentration on the individual and thus conservative at heart.'[16] Elevation of the position and the importance of the individual does not, however, necessarily imply reaction. The *Sturm und Drang* were highlighting the position of the individual *within society*, the lower orders were no longer to be viewed as cogs in the mechanical workings of a plaything of the aristocracy but were to be accorded respect irrelevant of station.

"Der Sturm und Drang war in erster Linie eine Protestbewegung".[17] Not a protest in the manner of a Büchner or a Byron, actively writing pamphlets or even manning the barricades. The social and political conditions of late eighteenth-century Germany precluded such dangerously romantic activity.[18] The *Stürmer und Dränger* were neither persecuted nor died for their cause, but a cause, nevertheless, they had. Much of *Sturm und Drang* drama was concerned with a subject which had also pre-occupied the later Enlightenment, namely the problem of love between the representatives of different social classes. Such writers as Fielding, Richardson, Lessing and Diderot had used this as a theme, and the *Sturm und Drang* continued this tradition, with Klinger's *Leidendes Weib* (1775), Wagner's *Kindsmörderin*

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[16] Israel Stamm, "Sturm and Drang and Conservatism," in *Germanic Review*, 30 (1955), p.5.
[17] Edward McInnes, *Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz Die Soldaten Text, Materialien, Kommentar*, (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1977), p.68.
[18] See F.M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p.18, n.58.

(1776), Bürger's *Pfarrerstochter von Taubenheim* (1781), Schiller's *Fiesco* (1783), and Lenz's two dramas, *Der Hofmeister* (1774)[19] and *Die Soldaten* (1775), and a number of *Volkslieder*. However, the *Sturm und Drang* writers are often less concerned with the mere villainy of the aristocrat determined to have his wicked way with innocent girls, but place this deed within its social context.[20] As Edward McInnes puts it: "In these plays the character of the dominant passion is not established through a crucial conflict with a challenging adversary but rather through a diffuse confrontation with a total environment".[21] The drama is lifted from the narrow confines of the *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* and the characters are seen estranged from their surroundings: "Für die Komödie des Sturm und Drangs ist aber nicht mehr der Konflikt, sondern bereits die Fremdheit zwischen Gesellschaft und Individuum und beider mit sich selber Ausgangspunkt".[22] This new aspect of estrangement, recognised by Helmut Arntzen, required new form and radical changes were made to the structure of drama. Hailing

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[19]*Der Hofmeister* reverses the usual perspective, having a *bürgerliche* "seducer" and an aristocratic "victim". I disagree with Bruford (p.21), who sees this role reversal as merely a whim of Lenz's as, by "turning things upside down", Lenz moves away from stereotype and makes the situation more universal.

[20]The *Sturm und Drang* continue the eighteenth-century view that seduction is more than just a secondary comic theme, as previously the case, but is worth serious consideration as a central theme.

[21]Edward McInnes, "The Sturm und Drang and the Development of Social Drama," in *Dvjs*, 46 (1972), 61.

[22]Helmut Arntzen, *Die ernste Komödie. Das deutsche Lustspiel von Lessing bis Kleist*, (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1950[0]), p.85.

Shakespeare as its hero, the movement made a frontal attack on the principles of Aristotelian drama. Aristotle himself was less the target of their anger than their contemporaries who maintained his ideas in an age not suited to the over-riding concept of fate:

> Da ein eisernes Schicksal die Handlung der Alten bestimmte und regierte, so konnte sie also als solche interessieren, ohne davon den Grund in der menschlichen Seele aufzusuchen und sichtbar zu machen. Wir aber hassen solche Handlungen, von denen wir die Ursachen nicht einsehen, und nehmen keinen Teil dran. Daher sehen sich die heutigen Aristoteliker, die bloss Leidenschaft ohne Charakter malen [...] genötigt eine gewisse Psychologie für alle ihre handelnde Personen anzunehmen, aus der sich darnach alle Phänomene ihrer Handlungen so geschickt und ungezwungen ableiten können und die im Grunde mit Erlaubnis dieser Herren nichts als ihre eigene Psychologie ist. Wo bleibt aber der Dichter [...]? Grosse Philosophen mögen diese Herren immer sein, grosse allgemeine Menschenkenntnis, Gesetze der menschlichen Seele Kenntnis, aber wo bleibt die individuelle?[23]

The movement was of the opinion that man had some control over his destiny and, therefore, the axiom of Aristotelian tragedy, "die so erschröckliche, jämmerliche Bulle von den drei Einheiten",[24] was ripe for replacement. The *Stürmer und Dränger* threw themselves into this with a vengeance, producing multiple plots with their corresponding different time settings and time spans. The open form is born, no longer "Ausschnitt als Ganzes" but "das Ganze in Ausschnitten".[25] This turn-about in form coupled with the

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[23] J.M.R. Lenz, *Anmerkungen übers Theater*, in *WuS* I, p.341. It must, however, be noted that Lenz went further than the majority of the *Stürmer und Dränger* in his open criticism of Aristotle as well as of his followers.

[24] *Anmerkungen übers Theater*, in *WuS* I, p.344.

[25] Volker Klotz, *Geschlossene und offene Form im Drama*, (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1969), pp.216 and 218.

new theme of estrangement marks the *Sturm und Drang* as a revolution in drama.[26]

Lenz has been seen as the epitome of *Sturm und Drang*, revealing its most glaring inconsistencies and its most advanced social criticism.[27] Whilst Lenz shares much with his fellow upsetters of the dramatic apple-cart, he also shows a number of fundamental differences. He has been seen not just as *Sturm und Drang*, but as Enlightenment, Romantic, even Naturalist,[28] and this very plethora of titles points to the ambiguities present in his works. Any fan of the *Kraftmensch*, that frequently burlesque individual so beloved

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[26]Whilst admitting that there are conservative elements in the movement (see Israel Stamm, pp.265–281), I must disagree with Clara Stockmeyer, who sees the movement as having old-fashioned morals as it respects the institution of marriage, praises modesty in women and punishes the seducer of the innocent, and thus concludes that they are not revolutionary, for these are still the ethics upon which society of today runs. (Clara Stockmeyer, *Soziale Probleme im Drama des Sturmes und Dranges*, [Frankfurt am Main: n.p., 1922], p.58). McInnes would appear to have hit the nail firmly on the head when he concludes: "Even now we still tend to underestimate the astonishing originality and ambition of these young playwrights. For as far as I can see Lenz, Wagner and Klinger were the first dramatists to try consistently to embody an awareness of society as an enclosing shaping force at work in every aspect and at every level of the individual's existence, determining not just the circumstances of his environment but his seemingly most intimate experience" (Edward McInnes, "'Die Regie des Lebens'. Domestic drama and the Sturm and Drang," in *Orbis Litterarum*, 32 [1977], 270).

[27]Pascal, p.31 and Genton, "Lenz – Klinger – Wagner," p.24.

[28]See Ottomar Rudolf, *Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz Moralist und Aufklärer*, (Berlin: Verlag Gehlen, 1970), Heinz Kindermann, *J.M.R. Lenz und die deutsche Romantik*, (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller Universitätverlagsbuchhandlung, 1925); Warren R. Maurer, *The Naturalist Image of German Literature*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), p.18f. for the wonderfully amusing story of Wilhelm Arent's pathological pre-occupation with Lenz. As a movement the Naturalists were the first to view Lenz as a forerunner.

of the movement, will search unrewarded in Lenz's *oeuvre*. Lenz's heroes (if one can call them that) are flawed not by their now out-dated style but by existential defects. Lenz, in one of his later incomplete works, was to bid farewell to the larger-than-life blusterings of his companions to concentrate on a world peopled by more down-to-earth characters:

> Lebt wohl grosse Männer, Genies, Ideale, euren hohen Flug mach ich nicht mehr mit, man versenkt sich Schwingen und Einbildungskraft, glaubt sich einen Gott und ist ein Tor. Hier wieder auf meinen Füssen gekommen wie Apoll, als er aus den Himmel geworfen ward, will ich unter den armen zerbrochenen schwachen Sterblichen umhergehen und von ihnen lernen, was mir fehlt, was euch fehlt – Demut.[2']

However, his stress on reality is present throughout all his writings and does not just come about when he starts to doubt the credibility of those *Stürmer und Dränger* who were increasingly attracted to more stylised forms of literature. Unlike the majority of *Stürmer und Dränger* Lenz is capable of producing not just criticism of a depreciatory nature but, in the tradition of the rationalists, suggests positive solutions, the most bizarre being the conclusion of *Die Soldaten*. It is just this side of Lenz which has caused such problems for the literary scholar. Lenz's answer to the

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[2'] *Die Kleinen* in *WuS* II, p.489. Although a number of critics see this as Lenz's rejection of the new paths a number of his contemporaries were taking in Weimar, I feel there is justification in the claim of Heinrich Rühmann that Lenz is concerned with the excesses of *Sturm und Drang*. (Heinrich Rühmann, "*Die Soldaten* Versuch einer soziologische Betrachtung," in *Diskussion Deutsch*, 2 [1971], 140). Lenz's later work shows a definite tendency towards subjectivity but, at the same time, it reveals a calmness rarely present in early writings.

problems of rakish officers seducing the daughters of honest citizens, namely the establishment of state brothels complete with their assignments of prostitutes "in the service of the king", has frequently led to doubt of its seriousness. Any production of the play leads to major modification or its total exclusion.[30]

There can be no doubt that Lenz had a reformatory streak: the pro-public school lobby at the end of *Der Hofmeister*, the military reforms suggested in *Über die Soldatenehen* are two prime examples, and Norman R. Diffey mentions a number of utopian schemes Lenz devised on his return to Riga.[31] However, to see Lenz merely as a reformer, believing there is a panacea to the ills of the world, is to miss totally the point of his writings. He is torn between pessimism and optimism. Just to see the world as full of iniquities and to turn one's back on it would run against his pietistic upbringing,[32] but, on the other hand, to expect the ills of the world to be neatly solved by a rational formula would counter his realism. Max Spalter compares Lenz to Brecht in the dualism between their moral idealism and their natural cynicism: "In essence they strike

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[30]Elizabeth Genton deals very thoroughly with the history of the play in *Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz et la scène allemande* (Paris: Didier, 1966).

[31]Norman R. Diffey, "Lenz, Rousseau and the problem of striving," in *Seminar*, 10 (1974), 174f.

[32]The hermit in *Die Kleinen* is most definitely portrayed as having made a mistake. Shrugging one's shoulders or fleeing from reality is not the path to happiness. See John Fitzell, *The Hermit in German Literature (From Lessing to Eichendorff)*, (Chapel Hill: Univ. of Carolina Press, 1961), p.24f.

us as too resigned to believe anything could be done about the hopeless amoral swamps they depict, and, conversely, as men of too much social conscience to be all that cynical".[33]

The dichotomy between dilemma and solution, of course, adds to the whole question of Lenz's sanity: surely no-one in their right mind is going to come up with the hare-brained scheme presented at the end of *Die Soldaten*? Yet this points to Lenz's modernity. The play is almost a sociological study of some of the wrongs of society. Lenz can recognise the problem – the rigidity of class barriers – but he cannot conceive of a method to cure it. Over and above the immovable barrier of social deference Lenz echoes the scepticism of subsequent generations at the infallibilty of reason. To label his attempt at a solution within the framework of society as contradictory to the sharp presentation of the problem is to deny the radical nature at the root of Lenz's ideas.[34] As previously stated, the social and political framework of Germany in the 1770's made a literal act of revolution impossible. Lenz, therefore, sees his role as pointing out and essaying a correction of the inequalities of society in the literary sphere. It is not

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[33]Max Spalter, *Brecht's Tradition*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967), p.21.

[34]The Marxist line as represented by Evamaria Nahke sees the dichotomy between Lenz's perception of a problem and his solution not only as contradictory but even as a sign of his madness, this being the only way to give credence to other of his ideas. (Evemaria Nahke, "Über den Realismus in J.M.R. Lenzens sozialen Dramen und Fragmenten," Diss. Berlin 1955, pp.63 and 71).

the existence of the class structure *per se* that Lenz sees as the root of evil but the abuse of one class by another. If he could, Lenz would abolish this abuse, but his realism forces him to accept that the axiom *amor vincit omnia* may hold true for romantic stories but it is not a universal truth:

> Die grösste Unvollkommenheit auf unsrer Welt ist, dass Liebe und Liebe sich so oft verfehlt, und nach unseren physischen, moralischen und politischen Einrichtungen sich fast immer verfehlen muss. Dahin sollten alle vereinigten Kräfte streben, die Hindernisse wegzuriegeln, aber leider ist's unmöglich.[35]

Before an attempt is made to analyse Lenz's dramatic theory and its specific significance for *Die Soldaten* it would be fruitful to inspect more closely his overall intent in writing. That it should be realistic is undeniable, but what is important to counter is the statement that it has little more effect than the boost a cinema weepie has for Kleenex sales![36] Lenz, despite his relative anonymity for audiences of the day, not only elicited enthusiastic response from a number of his contemporaries, most notably Wagner, but was most definitely concerned to produce more than a *Rührstück*. In his defence of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* he is at pains to deny any didactic intent

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[35] Letter to Sophie von la Roche, July 1775. *Briefe* I, 113.

[36] "Die Lebenswirkung war doch ebenso folgenlos wie etwa heutzutage der forcierte Edelmut vieler Kinodramen" (Kindermann, p.126). The fact that contemporary audiences were even denied this pleasure due to the severe paucity of Lenz's works on the stage would appear to elude Kindermann. To compare Lenz to the "picture house", the 1925 equivalent of the penny-dreadful, is to pay him superficial attention indeed.

in his play *Der Hofmeister*, merely being content to represent life as it is and not instruct on how it should/could be:

> Man hat mir allerlei moralische Endzwecke und philosophische Sätze bei einigen meiner Komödien angedichtet, man hat sich den Kopf zerbrochen, ob ich wirklich den Hofmeisterstand für so gefährlich in der Republik halte, man hat nicht bedacht, dass ich nur ein bedingtes Gemälde geben wollte von Sachen wie sie da sind und die Philosphie des geheimen Rats nur in seiner Individualität ihren Grund hatte.[37]

Immediate alárm bells should sound before one takes this too literally. After the furore, and the suicide wave, caused by *Werther* it is not surprising that Lenz is anxious to absolve an author of responsibilty from any conclusions that may be drawn from his work. Lenz is obviously concerned about the plight of the unfortunates of this world and the responsibility of the author to bring this to light. Although aware of the dangers of taking literary reality as an explicit representation of a writer's true identity, I feel that there is much of Lenz in his works[38] and, therefore, the opening lines of *Zerbin oder die neue Philosophie* are more than just a poetic plea:

> Wie mannigfaltig sind die Arten des menschlichen Elends! Wie unerschöpflich ist diese Fundgrube für den Dichter, der mehr durch sein Gewissen als durch Eitelkeit und Eigennutz sich gedrungen fühlt, den verlaubten Nerven des Mitleids für hundert Elende, die unsere Modephilosophie mit grausamen Lächeln von sich weist, in seinen Mitbürgern wieder aufzureizen![39]

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[37] *WuS* I, p.385.
[38] Indeed he is often criticised for excessive subjectivity (See Bruford, p.439).
[39] Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, *Erzählungen und Briefe*, ed. Joachim Seyppel (Berlin: Buchverlag der Morgen, 1978), p.11.

The genuineness of Lenz's desire for his message to reach the upper classes (who, basically, were the only group capable of initiating any practical change) is compounded in a letter he wrote to Sophie von la Roche, in which he praises her for her compassion and wishes that others of her class shared it.[40] However, Lenz is not writing exclusively for the upper classes, his literature is for all and, therefore, to have his morals penetrate even the thickest skull he is forced to communicate in base examples. He excuses this use of crudities because:

> [...] mein Publikum das ganze Volck ist; dass ich den Pöbel so wenig ausschliessen kann, als Personen von Geschmack und Erziehung, und dass der gemeine Mann mit der Hässlichkeit seiner Regungen des Lasters nicht so bekannt ist, sondern ihm anschaulich gemacht werden muss, wo sie hinausführen.[41]

I would argue that Lenz was more than aware of his moral intent. *Die Soldaten* is based on events of his life and the dual effect that the publication could have had on the people who formed the basis for the Marie/Desportes affair was not lost on Lenz: it could either chivvy the

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[39](cont'd)The introductory motto, credited to Shakespeare, underlines this: "O let these cities that of plenty's cup/ And her prosperities so largely taste/ With their superfluous riots hear these tears –" (p.10).

[40]July, 1775: *Briefe* I, 115.

[41]ibid. Blunden sees this stress on universal appeal as "at odds [...] with the sharply concentrated focus, the earnest purposefulness of the didactic writer". (Allen Blunden, "A case of elusive identity: the correspondence of J. M. R. Lenz," in *Dvjs*, 50, 1976, 119). This would imply that only certain groups need improving (and, correspondingly, others are already perfect, totally contrary to Lenz's opinion). Lenz criticises all social classes and, therefore, his message must be directed to all, even if it involves the use of unsavoury, even crass illustrations.

reluctant bridegroom into marriage, or conversely, ruin the reputation of the hapless girl if he failed to honour his promise.[42] Of course, if one wants to be cynical and read between the lines of a letter to Zimmermann of March 1776 requesting the play be published under the pseudonym "Steenkerk aus Amsterdam", Lenz could also be seen as saving his own reputation when he requests that publication be delayed![43]

Although Lenz himself stated, admittedly rather tongue-in-cheek, that too much philosophy produced headaches: "Meine philosophischen Betrachtungen dürfen nicht über zwo, drei Minuten währen, sonst thut mir der Kopf weh",[44] we must soldier on with a brief appreciation of Lenz's aesthetic principles. *Anmerkungen übers Theater* was published in 1774, although Lenz claims to have read it to the *Société de philosophie et des belles lettres* as early as 1771.[45] It contains Lenz's most extensive work on the theory of drama and although not entirely coherent it affords the reader useful insights into Lenz's conception of theatre. John Osborne gives a synopsis of the essay which confirms its rather casual style,[46] but we are less concerned with the vagaries of structured argument than the ideas

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[42] An Herder, Ende März, 1776: *Briefe* I, 215.
[43] *Briefe* I, 191.
[44] An Salzmann, Okt., 1772: *Briefe* I, 59.
[45] *WuS* I, 329. Although this claim is disputed in Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, it is partially substantiated by the investigation of Theodor Friedrich, *Die 'Anmerkungen übers Theater' des Dichters Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz*, Probefahrten 13 (Leipzig: n.p., 1909).
[46] John Osborne, *The Renunciation of Heroism*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Campe, 1975), p.37.

presented. After an introduction recalling the theatre of the past Lenz continues with a discussion on the essence of literature which he sees as "Nachahmung der Natur", citing both Aristotle and Lawrence Sterne as previous advocates of this. This imitation is not to be successive but simultaneous, or, in other words, the idea is not to portray nature as we perceive it but as it really is and as we *would* like to perceive it: "Wir möchten mit einem Blick durch die innerste Natur aller Wesen dringen, mit einer Empfindung alle Wonne, die in der Natur ist aufnehmen und mit uns vereinigen".[47] It is those people who are capable of this "simultaneous imitation" whom Lenz describes as *Genies*. Thus the true artist is more than a faithful reproducer of the world around him, he transcends copying with creation. Once this Promethean fundament has been established, the question arises as to whether the main element of drama (*Schauspiel*) is character or plot, that is to say, whether the French/Greeks or the English/older German nations were correct. Lenz concludes that, as modern man no longer believes in the iron hand of fate, the Aristotelian principle of plot (*Handlung*) as the essence of tragedy no longer applies. The writer is not to produce well-known, one is tempted to say hackneyed storylines, but is to concentrate upon the psychology – *why* events turn out as they do. If this characterisation involves caricature then so be it; better than an idealised view of humanity, as was

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[47] *WuS* I, 334f.

previously the case:

> [...] –nach meiner Empfindung schätz ich den charakteristischen, selbst den Karikaturmaler zehnmal höher als den idealischen, hyperbolisch gesprochen,denn es gehört zehnmal mehr dazu, eine Figur mit eben der Genauigkeit und Wahrheit darzustellen, mit der das Genie sie erkennt,als zehn Jahre an einem Ideal der Schönheit zu zirkeln, das endlich doch nur in dem Hirn des Künstlers, der es hervorgebracht, ein solches ist.''

The three unities are the next target of Lenz's criticism. He sees these as unnecessarily restrictive, indeed as unnatural: "Was heissen die drei Einheiten? hundert Einheiten will ich euch angeben, die alle immer noch die e i n e bleiben [...] Der Dichter und das Publikum müssen die eine Einheit fühlen aber nicht klassifizieren".'' To keep to the old formula of unity means to exclude the bulk of life, to pick up only those strands which pass through the eye of the needle of classical drama. After a passage lauding dramatic over epic skills Lenz excercises a sharp tongue on French Aristotelianism and French characterisation. Shakespeare is held up as the yardstick and the French, or more specifically, Voltaire, whose *La Mort de César* is compared to the Englishman's *Julius Caesar*, are seen as lacking on every count.

There then follows Lenz's definition of comedy and tragedy. Contrary to the Greeks he sees the individual's struggle as the heart of tragedy, the turn of events as the centre of comedy, using in his defence the opinions of the spectator:

''*WuS* I, 332.
''*WuS* I, p.344f.

> Und da find ich , dass er beim Trauerspiele [...] immer drauf losstürmt [...] das ist ein Kerl! das sind Kerls! bei der Komödie aber ist's ein anders. Bei der geringfügigsten, drollichten, possierlichen unerwarteten Begebenheit im gemeinen Leben rufen die Blaffer mit seitwärts verkehrtem Kopf: Komödie! Das ist eine Komödie! ächzen die alten Frauen.[50]

So the plot of a tragedy is developed to illustrate the character of the protagonist whereas in comedy the events take priority over the characters. This is not to the total detriment of characterisation:

> In der Komödie aber gehe ich von der Handlungen aus und lasse Personen Teil dran nehmen welche ich will. Eine Komödie ohne Personen interessiert nicht, eine Tragödie ohne Personen ist ein Widerspruch.[51]

The piece ends in typical whimsical Lenzian fashion: he is too tired to continue but recommends his audience to read his translation of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Lenz describes the "Komödie von Shakespearn" as a "Volksstück",[52] which again underlines his point that comedy – a new mixture of tragic and comic, not the previous narrow confines of amusement for amusement's sake – is for all. The high tragedy of his forerunners is no longer possible in the (for him) abject and misery-ridden times and thus the play (*Schauspiel*) is the only universally acceptable genre, *Komödie* still having for most people a more flippant connotation.

Another of Lenz's theoretical texts, this time a piece defending one of his works, *Rezension des neuen Menoza von den Verfasser selbst aufgesetzt*, enlarges on his definition

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[50] *WuS* I, p.359.
[51] *WuS* I, p.361.
[52] *WuS* I, p.362

of comedy. Comedy is not to be something that just elicits laughter. It is written for the whole of the population but, whilst also catering to the less well-educated members of the audience who are more inclined to laugh than cry, it is not to pander to these whims: "Komödie ist Gemälde der menschlichen Gesellschaft, und wenn die ernsthaft wird, kann das Gemälde nicht lachend werden".[53] The true genius is able to combine the tragic and the comic to create a realistic and responsible drama to which all segments of society can respond:

> Daher müssen unsere deutschen Komödienschreiber tragisch und komisch zugleich schreiben, weil das Volk, für das sie schreiben, oder doch wenigstens schreiben sollten, ein solches Mischmasch von Kultur und Rohigkeit, Sittigkeit und Wildheit ist. So erschafft der komische Dichter dem tragischen sein Publikum.[54]

This is far from sugaring the bitter pill of tragedy with comic interludes or spicing up the bland nature of frivolous comedy with pseudo-serious comment. Lenz is not being condescending to his audience. The common man may not have the refinements of the more genteel elements of society, he may need to be confronted with crasser examples of the iniquities of this world, but he is capable of thought and, therefore, deserves more than the fripperies of theatre. That Lenz believed in the intelligence of his audience can be seen by the fact that he did not believe in bottle-feeding them. He weans them off the expectation of an

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[53] *WuS* I, p.419.
[54] *WuS* I, p.419.

exposition[55] and indeed states that he expects them to work for their supper. To get the just desserts of drama the audience must also participate, they cannot expect a pre-chewed easy-to-swallow mush but have a nut they must crack open themselves: "Ich möchte immer gern der geschwungenen Phantasie des Zuschauers auch etwas zu tun und zu vermuten übrig lassen, und ihm nicht alles erst vorkäuen".[56] This does not imply that theatre is to be the group equivalent of the crossword puzzle: "Das Theater ist ein Schauspiel der Sinne, nicht des Gedächtnisses, der Einbildungskraft".[57] The emotions, the senses are still of supreme importance but the theatre of emotion is no longer just the domain of the *comédie larmoyante*.

Lenz, along with the other *Stürmer und Dränger*, was influenced by Shakespeare, but although the open form of the Englishman was of great importance for his German "descendants",[58] there are also a number of important differences to be taken into account. Lenz's edict of comedy and tragedy "zugleich" is opposite to Shakespeare, who most decidedly used comedy in tragedy as light relief. In Lenz it is fully integrated, thus we see Marie bickering with her

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[55] "[...] wenn ich nicht überhaupt alle Erzählungen auf dem Theater hasste," *WuS* I, p.418. This is not altogether surprising when one considers that the exposition was an almost obligatory part of Aristotelian drama.
[56] *WuS* I, p.418.
[57] *Über die Veränderung des Theaters im Shakespear*, in *WuS* I, p.367.
[58] The *Sturm und Drang* also admired Shakespeare's use of language, being the first to place importance on the word-play in the comedies.

sister almost immediately after she hears of Desportes' desertion (III,3). The petty argument does not relieve tension but shows that Marie is incapable of fulfilling the role of innocent tragic heroine. Also in Shakespeare the sub-plot serves a different purpose. In Lenz, as shall be seen, it has a thematic necessity, it is more than just diversion but acts symbiotically with the main plot. Although the two (or more) plots can theoretically stand in isolation, they only make complete sense when juxtaposed together. It is this effect of counterpoint which reveals much of Lenz's originalty. Volker Klotz describes the two strands present in *Die Soldaten* as *Privatstrang* and *Kollektivstrang*[55] and we can see the events of one strand running parallel to and complementing the other. The use of multiple plots leads to a "Kunst der Lücke"[56] where the audience must use their wits to follow events. They are not presented with the nice overseeable world of the stage but the perplexing reality of life. Thus Lenz continues the *Sturm und Drang* attack on the Enlightement's view of the *Fabel*: "[...] an imitation of the inner connections of nature, of nature as God beholds it. By means of the *Fabel* drama presents not the bewildering actual phenomena, but the perfect order underlying them".[57] Thus scenes change with alarming speed and it is up to the audience to make the

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[55]Klotz, p.102. He sees the Gräfin as a third subsidiary *dea ex machina* strand.
[56]Eva Maria Inbar, *Shakespeare in Deutschland: Der Fall Lenz*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1982), p.225.
[57]R.R. Heitner, "Real Life or Spectacle? A Conflict in Eighteenth Century German Drama," in *PMLA*, 82 (1967), 486.

links between each autonomous unit. This implies a stress on realism little found in eighteenth-century drama; there is the use of imitation, not to give a mirror image, but to evoke immediacy.'[2] Despite the frequent happy endings (*Der Hofmeister*, *Der neue Menoza*) or bizarre "solutions" (*Die Soldaten*) it is this realism which makes Lenz striking:

> Lenz' mode of dramatic writing is more akin to the cinema than conventional eighteenth-century theatre: the camera (they say) cannot lie, but most poets, as Plato observed, generally do, and it is a measure of Lenz' veracity that his plays contain no heroes or heroines, no clear moral message, and no facile hope that people might be "improved" by experience.'[3]

Although seen by many as the instigator of social drama in Germany,'[4] Lenz was naturally not producing in a void. It is interesting to note that two of his influences belonged to that oft-maligned race, the French. Denis Diderot (1713–1784) advocated realism mixed with great emotional intensity. He made much use of pantomime and gesture to communicate stage action, stressed accurate psychological delineation, the precise representation of milieux, and the replacement of scenic climaxes with visually striking tableaux, all of which are present in Lenz. His fellow-countryman Sebastian Mercier (1740–1814) wrote plays

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'[2]"[...] sie anschaulich und gegenwärtig zu machen, nehm ich als die zweite Quelle der Poesie an", *Anmerkungen übers Theater*, *WuS* I, p.335.

'[3]Allan Blunden, "Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz," in *German Men of Letters* VI, ed. Alex Natan and Brian Keith Smith (London: Oswald Wolff, 1972), 212.

'[4]See Elise Dosenheimer, *Das deutsche soziale Drama von Lessing bis Sternheim*, (Konstanz: Südverlag, 1949), p.38, Genton, "Lenz – Klinger – Wagner," p.139 and Walther Höllerer, "JMR Lenz *Die Soldaten*," in *Das Deutsche Drama von Barock bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Benno von Wiese (Düsseldorf: August Bagel Verlag, 1953), I, 130.

intent on raising the importance of the bourgeoisie. He had contempt for neo-classic drama, emphasised emotional realism and vivid characterisation. His delineation of class barriers was marked and Lenz was obviously aware of his work; the theatre discussion in I,4 of *Die Soldaten* mentions one of his most popular plays, *Le Déserteur*. Another element of Mercier which makes him relevant for Lenz is his linkage of tragic and comic.[15]

The whole question of tragic and comic "zugleich" has caused much contention. Roy Pascal neatly avoids the problem of genre by seeing it as symbolic of the whole *Sturm und Drang* attack on convention.[16] Lenz's plays are obviously no belly-laugh comedies, but yet again they are not tragedies in the classic or *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* tradition[17] and although they contain elements of both tragedy and comedy, to describe them as tragi-comedy is too easy a solution and runs the risk of by-passing Lenz's intent.[18] The question of

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[15] Presented in *Du Théâtre, ou nouvel essai sur l'art dramatique* (1773), which was translated by Wagner and was very popular with the *Sturm und Drang*.

[16] Pascal, p.282.

[17] Edward McInnes, "Social Drama," (p.67) sees this as a result of the fact that Lenz allows no coherent development of purposeful action. Bruce Duncan sees the division of genre in the degree of freedom of action an individual has. He shows that rigidified language patterns imply mechanical action and, therefore, the characters are not tragic. Thus he defines Lenz's plays *Der Hofmeister* and *Die Soldaten* as dark comedies, incorporating both the comic and the serious. (Bruce Duncan, "Dark Comedy in eighteenth-century Germany: Lessing and Lenz," Diss. Cornell University 1969, p.189f.).

[18] It must be noted, however, that K.S. Guthke has done useful work in this field, seeing Lenz as the fore-runner of modern tragi-comedy and giving the genre serious consideration, really for the first time. See K.S. Guthke, *Modern Tragi-comedy. An Investigation of the Nature of the Genre*, (New York: Random House, 1966), p.138f.

genre definition has always presented major problems and Lenz is no exception. Frequent links have been made to Dürrenmatt,[69] and there is something strangely modern about Lenz's use of the grotesque. Lenz's dramatic form has been seen as akin to *Ur-oder Pandrama*,[70] a drama which was to appeal to a broad spectrum and to affect the whole gamut of emotions. So much attention has had to be paid to this area because Lenz himself was unhappy about his original classification of *Die Soldaten* as a *Komödie*. He originally perceived the work as such, as can be seen from a reference to the play in a letter to Herder (29. Sept., 1775).[71] However, Lenz saw disadvantages in the label, not because the play does not fully accord with his own definition of *Komödie*,[72] but because of the ill effects such a work could have on the military. This can be seen as genuine concern as by February 1776 Lenz had already requested the play be published under a pseudonym,[73] and in a letter to Zimmermann a few days later he asked for the work to be defined as a *Schauspiel*, a more neutral term and not so condemning of the military:

Es könnte ausser der Seltsamkeit noch den Schaden

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[69]See McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz "Die Soldaten"*, p.120, Hans Meyer, introd. "Lenz oder die Alternative," *WuS* II, 807.
[70]Roger Bauer, "Die Komödientheorie von Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, die älteren Plautus-Kommentare und das Problem der 'dritten' Gattung," in *Aspekte der Goethezeit*, ed. Stanley A. Corngold, Michael Curschmann and Theodore J. Ziolkowski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1977), p.12.
[71]*Briefe* I, 131.
[72]It is not the plot that is to the forefront here but critical highlighting of a social institution.
[73]*Briefe* I, 183.

> haben, dass ein ganze Stand, der mir ehrwürdig ist, dadurch ein gewisses Lächerliche, das nur den verdorbenen Sitten einiger Individuen desselben zugedacht war, auf sich bezöge.'[74]

Whatever his reasons, Lenz failed in his attempt; the printers had already produced the title page and were not going to alter it at the whim of the author!

Die Soldaten was published in 1776 and has been seen by most critics as the crowning glory of Lenz's literary career.'[75] The play deals with a popular theme of the period, love between classes, and uses characters in vogue at the time, soldiers. However, nothing remains of the tub-thumping of standard military comedy or the stoical honour of the likes of Tellheim. Lenz's soldiers are very real; we see them warts and all, but, more importantly, we see how they come by these warts. The play meant much to its author. He writes of it as "[...] das Stück, das mein halbes Dasein mitnimmt"'[76] and, that if it is lost, "[...] so ist mein Leben mitverloren".'[77] The story is based upon the affair of a Strassburg jeweller's daughter, Cleophe Fibich, with the

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'[74]*Briefe* I, 191. However, Bauer (p.12) sees this need to alter the genre as part of Lenz's fear that, as a well-known writer of comedies, he could still be identified as author.
'[75]See Eckhart Oehlenschläger, "Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz," in *Deutsche Dichter des 18. Jahrhunderts Ihr Leben und Werk*, ed. Benno von Wiese (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1977), p.733, Rosanow, p.302, Ferdinand Josef Schneider, *Die deutsche Dichtung der Genieziet*, (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952), p.207, Karl Freye, "Nachwort," in *Sturm und Drang Werke in 3 Bänden*, neubearbeitet von René Strasser (Zurich: Stauffacher Verlag, 1966), III, 432, Blunden, "Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz," p.220, Meyer, p.817, Joseph Torggler, "Sozialbewusstsein und Gesellschaftskritik bei Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz," Diss. Innsbruck 1957 p.155, and Osborne, p.15.
'[76]An Herder, *Briefe* I, 119.
'[77]An Herder, *Briefe* I, 131.

elder of Lenz's charges, Friedrich Georg von Kleist, but goes far beyond its source, not only with its far more apocalyptic end but, more importantly, because it is intended as more than a recapitulation of actual events: "Ich freue mich himmlische Freude, das du mein Stück gerade von der Seite empfindest, auf der ichs empfunden wünschte, von der Politischen", Lenz writes to Herder in November 1775,[78] and he is even more explicit about his aims in a letter to Sophie von la Roche of July 1775: "Überhaupt wird meine Bemühung dahin gehen, die Stände darzustellen, wie sie sind, nicht wie sie Personen aus einer höheren Sphäre sich vorstellen [...]".[79]

Die Soldaten concerns the seduction of a middle-class girl by an aristocratic officer who is both unwilling and unable to keep his promises to her. However, Lenz portrays more than just the misery of the girl and her family but places the event in its social context. Desportes, although undoubtedly a cad, has social expectations to live up to and the life of an army officer is painted in a less than complimentary light. The play has a double perspective in more than one sense, not only because it portrays an individual and a collective story, but also because the individual story can be seen from two viewpoints: that of the seducer, his murder and the suicide of his murderer, or that of the girl who compromises herself, her father's

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[78] *Briefe* I, 145.
[79] *Briefe* I, 145.

ambition and the ruin of the family.[**]

The play opens with Marie attempting to write to her fiancé, Stolzius, but once the army officer Desportes exercises his charms on her, the prospect of life as a cloth-dealer's wife loses its appeal. She succumbs to the officer's seductory wiles and when he flees town, her father, to scotch rumours, stands in for his debts, which results in the financial ruin of the family. Meanwhile Marie attempts to remain in contact with the officers, further diminishing her reputation in the town, and despite a "rescue attempt" by a philanthropic countess she is unable to forget Desportes, runs off and is saved from life as a lady of the night by a chance reunion with her father. Meanwhile the audience has seen Stolzius goaded by the officers, seen them, in their boredom, play childish pranks and witnessed the murder of Desportes by the revengeful fiancé. The play ends with a theoretical solution to the problem presented in the work. Whether or not Lenz believed in the preposterous idea of a "Pflanzschule von Soldatenweibern"[*'] is irrelevant as it is obvious that this solution could not have prevented the situation of the play. Even a brief synopsis of the work illustrates a number of

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[**]See René Girard, "Théâtre et Vie Quotidienne: "*Les Soldats* de J.M.R. Lenz," in *Revue d'Allmagne*, 3 (1971) 293f.

[*']The initial version of this scene is even more outrageous, suggesting a travelling troupe of concubines as willing sacrifices to the lustful urges of the soldiers. It is the basic idea, not its presenter, which is important here, but Osborne (p.131) discusses the significance of this change showing its anomalies for the characters of the Obrist and the Gräfin.

Lenz's theoretical points: a multiple plot reflecting the complicated reality of life, a situation which allows criticism of all classes of society and a dilemma insoluble through reason.

The convoluted plot is reflected in the form. Of the thirty five scenes thirty four require a scene change and the audience bounces from Lille to Armentières to Phillippeville and back. This is not arbitary, to spite the Aristotelian principle of unity,[82] but is synonymous with the confused reality present in the work. There is method in Lenz's proliferation of scenes and he uses the final scene as an *Integrationspunkt*[83] to link the events portrayed in the diffuse locations. The soldiers scenes interspersed between the story of Marie have a mainly expository function, illustrating in general the specific of the Marie/Desportes affair. Over and above this they can have a dramatic effect, most especially II,2 where the torment of Stolzius is heightened and forms a basis for his revenge,[84] and they also act in an alienatory mode, preventing too much association with the Weseners' misfortune, helping to make their case exemplary rather than specific. Lenz is also able

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[82]Cf. Höllerer (p.128), who sees the diverse settings merely as an opportunity to break the unity of place.
[83]See Klotz p.112.
[84]By this I do not wish to imply that Stolzius is intent on revenge the minute he enters the army. To see this as the case (Osborne, p.129) is to credit Stolzius with a logic which far exceeds the rest of his character. I concur with Pascal (p.63) and McInnes ("'Die Regie des Lebens'," p.278) that he originally enlists to keep an eye on his fiancée, the murderous intentions deriving from his anger at her treatment and not pity for his situation.

to employ a variety in these commentary scenes, there being, as René Girard points out, direct commentary (I,4), contradictory commentary (Gräfin III,10, original conclusion), metaphorical commentary (III,1), and inverse commentary (II,3, grandmother's song).[33] The whole effect is of a *Raritätskasten*, the audience being allowed glimpses into the lives of the officers and the inhabitants of the garrison town, the scenes being linked thematically not causally.

Although the structure of the play is important for revealing its theme, one of confusion, alienation and isolation, it is Lenz's characterisation which most forcefully stresses this. We see the main characters embroiled in a situation over which they have no control, following urges, social or sexual, over which they have little power. Even Stolzius, who, it has been argued, strikes a blow for the bourgeoisie,[34] is far more a victim of circumstances than his own will. His rage at Marie's fate forces him into the futile murder of Desportes and his own equally futile suicide. Eisenhardt, who would initially appear to understand the situation: "O Soldatenstand, furchtbare Ehlosigkeit, was für Karikaturen machst du aus den Menschen" (III,4 p.217), is, as a member of the corps, incapable of influencing its members and is ultimately powerless. The characters show a dichotomy of illusion and reality in their words and actions: Wesener is determined to

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[33]Girard, "Théâtre et Vie Quotidienne," p.301.
[34]Genton, "Lenz – Klinger – Wagner," p.59.

be the proud head of an independent middle-class family yet does not want to forgo the opportunity to improve his status, Marie plays the innocent yet is partly to blame for her end, Desportes can be the chivalrous lover yet at the same time brutal and conniving. The Gräfin, aware of the gulf between her ideals and the reality they imply for Marie, is ultimately unable to affect any change. Lenz portrays this inconsistency of illusion and reality admirably. The characters rarely point out *faux pas* in each other, but their very actions and words allow the audience to identify their mistakes.

Although not as frequently as in *Der Hofmeister*, for example, Lenz continues to use caricature rather than finely-drawn character: "A caricature, for the maturer Lenz, is someone who is not free to develop his own humanity, whose actions are determined by alien forces outside himself, or by uncontrolled impulses within himself."[8] As Osborne correctly points out, we are not dealing with caricature purely for the sake of satire but to emphasise the hold that social custom has over people. The majority of figures represent one dominant characteristic, thus we have the spiteful sister, the prating rationalist, the buffoon, the fearful Jew. There are also differentiations of character within figures from the same class or social position. By this means Lenz is able to show that it is not aristocratic status itself which leads to an exploitative

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[8] Osborne, p.40.

nature but the peculiarities of a corporate life devoid of real human relationships or true social responsibility. The junge Graf can be seen slowly being corrupted by the system. His youth is apparent from his first appearance (his tutor is also present), he is still untainted enough to show genuine concern for Marie: "[...] ich fühle dass ich einen Anteil an dem Schicksal des Mädchens nehme – [...] – es quält mich Mama! dass sie nicht in bessere Hände gefallen ist" (III,8 p.223). Yet, only a few lines before, his mother had had to chide him for his callous attitude to the servants: "Ich glaube du willst mich lehren die Bedienten anzusehen wie die Bestien" (III,8 p.222). Even with a mother as sensitive as the Gräfin it is to be feared that prolonged duty will leave the junge Graf as scarred as his fellow officers.

For the most part, language is the means by which Lenz develops character. The figures in the drama do not understand themselves or their situation, thus there can be no expository monologues. In fact, the two crucial monologues of the play, Marie's at the end of the first act and Stolzius' outside the apothecary's, are marked by their disjointedness and their lapidary style. They are more stream of consciousness than classical monologue. The audience has to gauge the nature of the characters not so much by what they say but the way that they say it. Lenz has captured, probably better than any playwright before, the subtle nuances of speech. Walther Höllerer has done useful

work classifying the different language registers present.[8] There is the *Kaufmannssprache* of Wesener, fawning, devoid of pronouns and rich in infinitives: "Werden pardonnieren, Herr Baron! so gern als Ihnen den Gefallen tun wollen, in allen anderen Stücken haben zu befehlen" (I,3 p.187), which the impressionable Marie imitates in her initial letter to Stolzius: "[...] letzthin sagte der Papa auch es wäre nicht höflich wenn man immer 'wir' schreibe und 'sich' und so dergleichen" (I,1 p.183). *Gehobenes Empfindsamkeitspathos* marks the speech of the Gräfin, words of heightened emotion, of the novel, but words that come from the heart. This is lacking in the clichés of Desportes, who, when he wishes to charm, is well able to don the mantle of gentility:

> Du höchster Gegenstand von meinen reinen Trieben
> Ich bet dich an, ich will dich ewig lieben.
> Weil die Versicherung von meiner Lieb und Treu
> Du allerschönstes Licht mit jedem Morgen neu.
> (I,6 p.196)

Through insincerity it is parodied and reduced to jargon. Lenz is equally able to show the genuine *Sprache des Rationalismus* and its parody as spoken by Eisenhardt and Spannheim, and then Pirzel. The former are true children of the Enlightenment, cool-headed and capable of logical argument, the latter reveals a rationalist mind gone haywire.[9] Incapable of true logic Pirzel always returns to his almost *leitmotiv*-ian "Das kommt, dass die Menschen nicht

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[8] Höllerer, p.135f.
[9] Anyone with even the slightest knowledge of Büchner's works cannot fail to see the prototype of the doctor in *Woyzeck*.

denken". Also present in the work are examples of the *Geniesprache*. As previously stated, Lenz did not share in the delight of other *Stürmer und Dränger* at the *Kraftmensch*. Thus this language of explosion, of destruction, is placed in the mouths of unsympathetic characters, most noticeably the soldiers:

> **Haudy:** Du bist eine politische Gans, ich werde dir das Genick umdrehen.
> **Rammler:** Und ich brech dir Arm und Bein entzwei und werf sie zum Fenster hinaus. (II,2 p.204)

When Lenz wants to show the coarser sides of other characters, they too fall back into this language of violence. Thus Wesener, irritated by Marie's wheedling, mutters "Willstu's Maul halten?" only seconds before playing the unctuous businessman to Desportes. *Lapidarstil* as used by Marie and Stolzius in their rare moments of pathos is the final register employed in the work. It is pithy and truly heart-wrenching, the best example being Marie's speech alone in her room:

> **Marie** (*Küsst ihm die Hand*): Gute Nacht Pappuschka! – (*Da er fort ist, tut sie einen tiefen Seufzer und tritt ans Fenster indem sie sich aufschnürt.*) Das Herz ist mir so schwer. Ich glaub es wird gewittern die Nacht. Wenn es einschlüge – (*Sieht in die Höhe, die Hände über ihre offene Brust schlagend.*) Gott was hab ich denn Boses getan? – Stolzius – ich lieb dich ja noch – aber wenn ich nun mein Glück besser machen kann – und Pappa selber mir den Rat gibt. (*Zieht die Gardine vor.*) Trifft mich's so trifft mich's, ich sterb nicht anders als gerne. (*Löscht ihr Licht aus.*) (I,6 p.197.)

Desportes' duplicity and Wesener's indecisiveness have already been seen as illustrated in language but it is Marie who reveals her vacillation most adroitly through language.

II,3 sees her pass through five different registers. Höllerer, in his analysis, sees her speaking from her personal fear and worry, as the inhabitant of a provincial town, a young lady in society, a pert, waspish, thoughtless creature, and, finally, imitating the language of the court.'°

Lenz's use of language for characterisation is superbly complemented by his subtle and pervasive employment of pantomime and gesture. Just a brief glance at Marie's soliloquy (above) reveals how fundamental the actions of the characters are in the overall effect: the sigh, the forlorn gaze, the striking of the breast,'' the closing of the curtains and the darkening of the room. Throughout the play characters frequently "say" more through gesture than word. In III,2 Stolzius reacts not to his mother's chiding but only when she physically drags him off to bed. Marie's coquettish nature is manifested far more explicitly through her actions towards Desportes, thus in II,3 she marks his face with ink, she hides the letter,wrestles with him and tickles him, attacks him with a pin. However, Lenz concludes the scene with something far more suggestive: the song of the grandmother:

> Weseners alte Mutter (*Kriecht durch die Stube, die Brille auf der Nase, setzt sich in eine Ecke des Fensters und strickt und singt, oder krächzt vielmehr mit ihrer alten rauhen Stimme*):
> Ein Mädele jung ein Würfel ist
> Wohl auf den Tisch gelegen

'°Höllerer, p.132f.
''This is reminiscent of the "mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa" action of the beating of the breast.

Das kleine Rösel aus Hennegau
Wird bald zu Gottes Tisch gehen.

(Zählt die Maschen ab.)

Was lächelst so froh mein liebes Kind
Dein Kreuz wird dir'n schon kommen
Wenn's heisst das Rösel aus Hennegau
Hab nun einen Mann genommen.

O Kindlein mein, wie tut's mir so weh
Wie dir dein Äugelein lachen
Und wenn ich die tausend Tränelein seh
Die werden dein Bäckelein waschen. (II,3 p.208)

The combination of folk song, raucous voice and the counting of the stitches lends the scene the aura of an omen; here is one of the Fates knitting the web of life.'[2]

Along with a closer textual analysis of the whole work the importance of the final scene will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. However, I see the suggestion of the Gräfin/Obrist, albeit preposterous, as more serious than ironic. Lenz was later to refine his ideas on the dilemma of enforced bachelorhood in the 1776 pamphlet *Über die Soldatenehen*, and a brief appraisal of this will conclude this chapter.

'[2]Although this could imply foresight on the part of the grandmother, I feel she is employed for atmosphere and to avoid seduction on stage. Therefore, I must disagree with Oehlenschläger (p.775), who sees her as the only person to break out of the restricted perspectives of the other characters, the only one to transcend the situation. Höllerer (p.133) is far more accurate when he concludes: "Der Ausklang der Szene setzt ein unheilvolle, todnahe Situation in Gestik und Sprache um. Der Anhauch von Giftigem und Tödlichem schlägt aus der widersprüchlichen Komposition des Gelächters der Verliebten mit dem Gekrächze der alten, durchs Zimmer kriechenden Frau und dem Volkslied entgegen, so, als berührten sich der Anfang und das Ende menschlichen Daseins in ihrer Zufälligkeit und Unerbittlichkeit."

Lenz's interest in military affairs is fairly well documented'[3] and gave his quixotic mind the opportunity to devise improvements. *Über die Soldatenehen* is the most advanced and thought-through of his schemes. It is in numerous respects an advance on the "solution" presented at the end of *Die Soldaten*. In the play the proposal to set up state brothels is basically an attempt to protect innocent burghers' daughters (which, if they were all like Marie, could only fail) but in the theoretical work Lenz is far more concerned to lend meaning to the life of those who have taken the King's shilling. In this respect it is one of the first attempts to give a sociological appraisal of life in uniform. Lenz is here not just restricting himself to the officers' mess but addresses the whole army, from the common soldier to the general. Much of the work is devoted to pleas for financial and psychological amelioration; to be a good soldier one must fight willingly, not under duress. To fight with vigour the soldier must receive just reward and respect. If the soldier has no choice but to whore then obviously he will lose social standing and self-respect. Lenz suggests that the time-honoured tradition of the bachelorhood of the military be rescinded. If they are allowed to marry, then defence of the nation will have greater meaning, the days of the philandering soldier will be over, the soldier will be more humane in battle and the nation will ultimately reap financial reward: the soldiers'

'[3]See Rosanow, p.297.

offspring "belong" to the state, therefore recruitment drives will be unnecessary. The piece is surprisingly well argued for Lenz, indeed, he meant the plan in deadly earnest, intending to introduce it at court: "Ich habe eine Schrift über die *Soldatenehe* unter den Händen, die ich einem Fürsten vorlesen möchte und nach deren Vollendung und Durchtreiben ich – wahrscheinlich sterben werde."[34]

The work is a fitting conclusion to Lenz. It shows him in all his seriousness still only managing to produce something which it is difficult to take in total earnest and yet which is difficult to dismiss out of hand. One is left in wonder at the tenacity, the imagination of this odd man who ultimately knew what his contemporaries thought of him, and yet, for all his disillusionments, was not prepared to throw up his hands in despair at the lost cause of man:

> Ich sehe hier runzelnde Stirnen genug, die sich bey diesen gar nicht überladenen einfälligen Bildern zu einem höhnischen Lächeln entfalten. Jugendliche poetische Grillen! sagen sie, [...]. '[35]

It is often the unclouded, idealistic vision of the young or the eccentric which proves correct in the end, sadly it often takes a long passage of time for society to accept this: only recently has Lenz been accorded attention as anything more than a young poetic eccentric. Lenz writes his own summary to his life and ideals when, in *Pandämonium Germanicum*, he has Klopstock, Herder and Lessing say of him: "Der brave Junge. Leistet er nichts, so hat er doch gross

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[34] An Herder, Frühjahr 1776: *Briefe* I, 197.
[35] The only copy of the text I have been able to find is in McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz 'Die Soldaten'*, pp.138–169, p.148.

geahndet."'[1] It is the task of the modern reader to appreciate these attempts for their intrinsic worth and not their oddity value.

'[1] *GWuS* II, p.276.

II. An Introduction to Heinar Kipphardt

Heinar Kipphardt found international acclaim as the author of *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer* and is generally recognised as one of the leading names in German documentary drama of the 1960's. It is, therefore, surprising that one of his works is an adaptation of a play by an eighteenth-century author. The aim of this chapter is to reach an understanding of the appeal Lenz had for Kipphardt and to place the adaptation within his *oeuvre*.

Die Soldaten was the only *Bearbeitung* Kipphardt published, although Urs Jenny mentions that he also started a reworking of Kleist's *Der Prinz von Homburg* which was never completed.[1] Although Kipphardt's international reputation rests on three works in the documentary tradition, namely *Der Hund des Generals* (1963), *Oppenheimer* (1964) and *Joel Brand. Die Geschichte eines Geschäfts* (1968), he started far from documentary drama, indeed far from drama itself.

Kipphardt was born on March 8th, 1922 in Heidersdorf, Upper Silesia. His father was a dentist, but of more importance is the fact that he was an active Social Democrat. At the age of eleven Kipphardt witnessed the brutality of National Socialism at almost first hand when

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[1] See Urs Jenny, "Kipphardt, Heinar oder: die Psychologie des faschistischen Menschen," in *Theater heute*, 13 Jahressonderheft (1972), 76.

his father was arrested and sent to the concentration camp in Buchenwald, which he was not to leave until 1938, a broken man. After successful completion of his *Abitur* in 1940, Kipphardt chose medicine as a path of study, a choice partly determined by his desire to leave National Socialist Germany: "[...] meine Frage war, einen Beruf zu finden, der mich instandsetzte, vielleicht das Land auch zu verlassen. [...] Ich hielt es für unsinnig, gerade in der Nazi-Zeit Geisteswissenschaften zu studieren".[2] Study was interrupted by active service on the eastern front, where Kipphardt was involved in the retreat from the Russians and saw at close quarters the total collapse of Germany. After the war he studied in Bonn, Cologne, Königsberg, Breslau, Würzburg, and Düsseldorf, where he qualified as a doctor specialising in psychiatry. He took up employment as an assistant doctor at the Universitätsnervenklinik der Charité in East Berlin. His literary career began in earnest[3] in 1950 when he was taken on by Wolfgang Langhoff as resident dramatist at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, formerly the Reinhardt-Theater.

His first three dramas, *Shakespeare dringend gesucht* (1954), *Der Aufstieg des Alois Piontek* (1956) and *Die Stühle des Herrn Szmil* (1958, freely using the theme of the novel

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[2] "Ruckediguh – Blut ist im Schuh. *Schreiben, um sich in die verdrängten Fragen zu verwickeln. Ein Gespräch zwischen Heinar Kipphardt und Armin Halstenberg,*" in *Ts* I, p.337.

[3] Martin Wiebel mentions that Kipphardt began his first literary attempts at university and took a number of drama courses there. (Martin Wiebel, "Das dramatische Werk von Heinar Kipphardt," in *Volksbühnenspiegel*, 10/11 [1967], 12).

The Twelve Chairs by Ilya Ilf and Eugen Petrow[4]) were satires. The first centres around the problem of finding suitably theatrical plays for the East German stage. The protagonist, Amadeus Färbel, chief dramatic advisor of a theatre, is inundated with plays which, while strong on socialist content, are totally unsuitable for the stage. In his rage he ignores the young playwright whose work shows great promise. Färbel, realising his error, searches after him but even after successfuly finding the play and the playwright again, is confronted with the opposition of the theatre management. However, all's well that ends well, the play is performed after the intervention of the Ministry of Culture and the replacement of the opportunist theatre manager by Färbel. Theatre life delivers the material for Kipphardt's first dramatic success.

The two subsequent satires move away from the world of theatre, both are concerned with con-men, man's greed and his stupidity. As with *Shakespeare* both contain criticism of socialist bureaucracy. This criticism is not destructive; at no point does Kipphardt lose sight of true "socialism", but he tires of red tape and lack of initiative among petty-minded officials. The last of these three plays was not performed in the East as, after a number of years of artistic and political disputes with the authorities, Kipphardt moved to the West in 1959. The play premiered in Wuppertal in 1961 to minor success. Kipphardt may have

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[4]The book would appear to be of continuing interest. Mel Brooks used it as the basis of his second film.

arrived in the West with a satire in his suitcase, but it was not as a satirist that he made his mark on the post-war German literary scene.

Along with Peter Weiss and Rolf Hochhuth, Kipphardt is viewed as one of the most important documentary dramatists. His three plays *Hund, Oppenheimer* and *Joel Brand* have been seen as revealing the various facets of the genre in a nutshell.[5] A detailed definition of documentary drama as a genre is not of major concern here. Numerous critics have attempted this,[6] but for the purposes of this thesis it will serve to define documentary theatre as a genre which uses historical fact, or, more specifically, historical fact which can be verified in documentation, as the basis for a drama which has *political* intent.[7]

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[5]See Walter Hinck, "Kipphardt erschöpft? Zu seinen gesammelten Theaterstücken," in *F.A.Z*, 9.3.1974 Nr. 58.
[6]See Jack D. Zipes, "Das dokumentarische Drama," in *Tendenzen der deutschen Literatur seit 1945*, ed. Thomas Koebner (Stuttgart:Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1971) pp.462-479, Rainer Taëni, *Drama nach Brecht. Möglichkeiten heutiger Dramatik*, (Basle: Basilius Presse, 1968) p.125f., Rolf-Peter Carl, "Dokumentarisches Theater," in *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart. Aspekte und Tendenzen*, ed. Manfred Durzak (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1971) p.101f. and Sjaak Onderdelinden, "Fiktion und Dokument. Zum Dokumentarischen Drama," in *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik*, ed. Gerd Labroisse, I (1972), 173-206.
[7]Gero von Wilpert, in his *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1969[5], p.179), defines documentary drama as a genre which "Zuflucht zu archivalischem historischem Faktenmaterial sucht und es in mehr oder weniger unveränderter Form, in authentischen Szenen und quellenmässig belegbaren Sätzen und Dialogen auf die Bühne bringt. [...] Das Dokumentartheater ist die Kapitulation des schöpferischen Menschengestalters vor einer handlungsmässig vorgefundenen und sprachlich vorgeformten, aktenmässig beglaubigten Wirklichkeit in der Vermutung, deren schauspielerischer Nachvollzug als Bühnenhandlung trage bereits die Interpretation der Zusammenhänge in sich [...] Die Wirklichkeit des Dokumentartheaters ist

The aim is not just to show the difficulties, the inconsistencies, the cruelty of life, but to attempt to discover why such things occur. Kipphardt says of authors such as himself who have moved away from the *Seelendrama*:

> Die wollen nicht nur die Gardine zeigen, die ins Zimmer weht, sondern auch den Wind, der sie bewegt. Nicht nur die Wirkung sondern auch die Ursache. Das Wie und das Warum.[8]

There is no point in illuminating the causes of distress and inequality unless the ensuing revelations are part of a general conviction that these causes are removable and thus improvement is possible. The play does not need to be a direct call for political action, as documentary drama of the 1920's was, but its very content and style means that it must be didactic. A brief study of Kipphardt's three main documentary plays[9] will illuminate this. *Der Hund des Generals* is adapted from a short story of the same name written in 1956. It is set in a courtroom; it deals with a judicial inquiry into the conduct of a Nazi general who is alleged, by the sole survivor of the assignment, to have sent a battalion on a suicide mission because one of them

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[7](cont'd)ausserästhetischer Art und regt bestenfalls zu erneuter Diskussion der aufsehenerregenden Fälle aus der jüngsten politischen Vergangenheit an, die es eben um ihres Aufsehens willen vorführt [...]".

[8]Heinar Kipphardt, "Soll die Angelegenheit nicht endlich ruhen?" in *Ts* I, p.356.

[9]Kipphardt's play *Sedanfeier* (premiere 1970), a collection of songs, speeches and reports from the Franco-Prussian War of 1871, is also to be classified as documentary drama. Indeed, it is far more reminiscent of the revue nature of the genre in the 1920's, but as it has not been published as a separate work but only included in *Stücke* II (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973 [=edition suhrkamp 659]) and has generally created little critical attention; it will not be discussed here.

accidently shot his dog. The drama of the courtroom is interspersed with flashbacks to the period, but the crux of the play develops from the speeches of one of the members of the enquiry board, the historian Professor Schweigeis. He argues that Hitler's military staff should be brought to trial for their crimes; the excuse that all orders ultimately came from Hitler means that "Hitler ein guter Dolch ist für eine neue Dolchstosslegende. Als Universalschuldiger eignet er sich als ein universales Weisswaschmittel".'° This does not absolve the generals of their moral guilt, however. The play concludes with General Rampf being declared innocent of the charges brought against him, and the ordinary man is shown as utterly powerless when Pfeiffer, the sole survivor of the battalion, is, finally, not even called to give evidence. However, this pessimistic end is not the point of the work as Kipphardt, by laying stress on the iniquities, or, more precisely, the legal pedantry of the judicial system, is opening his audience's eyes to changes which must occur before society can be deemed fair.

Oppenheimer has a similar conclusion. It had enormous national'' and international success. It deals with a 1954 enquiry into whether J. Robert Oppenheimer, the father of

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'°*Ts* I, p.186.

''The play was first performed as a television production (Hessische Rundfunk 23.1.1964) and opened as a stage play with simultaneous premieres in Berlin (Freie Volksbühne) and Munich (Münchener Kammerspiele) on 11.11.64. In the 1964/5 season it was the most performed play in the Federal Republic, enjoying 27 productions and 598 perfomances.

the atom bomb, should continue to be granted security clearance, which, if denied, would preclude him from any further co-operation in the nuclear research programme. As probably the most exemplary documentary drama'[12] it could fall into the trap of the majority of plays of this genre, namely, being based on historical fact and set, fairly and squarely, in a particular time, of being *zeitgebunden*. However, although Kipphardt's play is of a very different nature to Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, his Oppenheimer and the witches of Salem are not bound to their era (be it the seventeenth century or the age of McCarthy-ism) but are *modellhaft* of repression, changing values and ultimate moral responsibilty.'[13] Although the play deals with the changing values of the state (much of the evidence against Oppenheimer concerns his associations with Communists during the war years, a time in which the USA and the USSR were allies), its dramatic development revolves around Oppenheimer's gradual realisation of his ultimate moral responsibility as a scientist. He is, at first,

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[12] See Elizabeth Endres, "Kipphardts Durchbruch," in *Merkur*, 30 Part 2 (1976), 785.

[13] Just as *The Crucible* enjoys continued success long after the McCarthy era of which it is a parable, so *Oppenheimer* is of continued relevance for contemporary society. Heinrich Peters and Michael Töteberg point out that in more recent years the play "[hat] Aktualität gewonnen unter neuen Aspekten: gesellschaftliche Folgen der Atomkraft, fragwürdige Verfassungspraktikanten und Gesinnungsschnüffelei" (Heinrich Peters/Michael Töteberg, "Heinar Kipphardt," in *KLG*, II, 8. Kipphardt himself realised its continued relevance and reworked a 1977 production of the play emphasising the power of the state: "Im Atomstaat steckt der Überwachungsstaat" (Kipphardt quoted in the above, p.8).

understandably indignant at the fact that his security status is under investigation, but sees no wrong in his research. By the end of the play he is aware that it is not only those who employ the discoveries of scientists for destructive ends who share in the guilt of refining man's powers to annihilate himself and the world with him, but that the finger must also point to those who make the discoveries in the first place.'[14] Thus, unlike General Rampf, he is not prepared to ignore his responsibility but lets it rest on his shoulders.

Joel Brand, although still dealing with moral responsibility, this time that of the Allies and their response to the Jewish problem,'[15] has at its heart a very different import. Indeed, the very title is a misnomer: central to the play are neither Joel Brand nor the business transaction but the figure of Adolf Eichmann. Eichmann is not portrayed as the epitome of evil, he is a man just as any other. The figure of Eichmann conjures up an image of pure evil but a poem of Leonard Cohen's illustrates Kipphardt's point far more effectively and succintly than any long explanation could:

'[14]Oppenheimer's concluding speech, in which he admits his guilt in betraying the service of Man in preference for serving the interest of the state, is fictitious and aroused the protest of Oppenheimer himself. (See "Ruckediguh," p.341f.).

'[15]However, by "reducing" the problem to a proposed deal of one million Hungarian Jews for 10,000 lorries, which the Allies could only refuse, the case is too much of a quirk to have the desired effect of revealing the almost total lack of moral responsibility the Allies showed towards the Jews.

"All there is to know about Adolf Eichmann"

Eyes:.....Medium
Hair:.....Medium
Weight:.....Medium
Height:.....Medium
Distinguishing Features:...None
Number of Fingers:.....Ten
Number of Toes:.....Ten
Intelligence:.....Medium

What did you expect?

Talons?

Oversize incisors?

Green saliva?

Madness?''

Therefore, it is not his unique nature which makes him capable of such callous acts but, as Kipphardt is at pains to point out, the society around him: "Der Mensch," Kipphardt says "ist so gut oder so schlecht, wie er gebraucht wird".'' This again ties in with General Rampf's argument: a command is a command is a command, it must be carried out irrelevant of one's personal disagreement. Eichmann is one step further advanced as he does not even show disagreement. Obviously ultimate control came from Hitler but if one is well enough integrated into a system, then the thought processes of that system become automatic. Whilst the individual believes he has freedom of choice, the subtle "propaganda" of the enveloping system has even taken

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''Leonard Cohen, *Selected Poems 1956-1968*, (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., nd.) p.122.
''Quoted in Günther Rühle, "Versuche über eine geschlossene Gesellschaft. Das dokumentarische Drama und die deutsche Gesellschaft," in *Theater heute*, 7, Heft 10 (1966), p.10.

control of individual thought. Thus Kipphardt is implying that the audience is wrong to view Eichmann as evil personified, he is nothing more than a being totally integrated into the corrupt society he happened to be born into, or, as with Nazi Germany, grow up with. If one looks at Lenz this can also be seen in Pirzel, who derides man's inability or unwillingness to think without realising that his own thought processes, locked in pedantic rationalism, are equally distant from free thought.

The figure of Eichmann continued to fascinate Kipphardt and his last play, *Bruder Eichmann*, again stresses the normality of the man and, as the very title suggests, the ease with which anyone could be Eichmann.'* This, too, is a documentary drama, but the period between *Joel Brand* and *Bruder Eichmann* (the afore-mentioned *Sedanfeier* excluded), saw Kipphardt move away from the genre. Preceeding *Die Soldaten* was *Die Nacht in der der Chef geschlachtet wurde*, a satirical comedy on the underlying brutality in man (the play concerns the subconscious megalomania of a cashier, as revealed in his dreams), which had little success. Heinar Kipphardt then remained in the news, not for his literary output, but for his involvement in the "Dra-Dra" affair, as a result of which he lost his post as chief artistic advisor

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'*The play was premiered posthumously in January 1983 in Munich. There is, at present, no full published text available to the writer. However, in 1978 *Kursbuch* published Heinar Kipphardt, "Bruder Eichmann. Protokolle, Materialien," which consists of an interview which tries to reveal how Eichmann became involved in the SS and Ausschwitz and then analogies to the "Eichmann-Haltung" in Vietnam (*Kursbuch*, 51 [1978] 17–41).

to the Münchener Kammerspiele. This enforced withdrawal from the world of theatre had a profound effect on Kipphardt; he was to publish nothing new for the following five years and when he did it was a novel, *März* (1976). The book is a conglomeration of reflections (diary entries), psychological reports and poems which centre around the character of Alexander März, a long-stay patient being treated for schizophrenia at the Lohberg psychiatric institution. Thus the book reads less as a unified literary text than as a series of notes and ideas, indeed, a literary collage. In common with Kipphardt's view on Eichmann, März is seen not as an outsider, an oddity above/below the normal level of human perception, but as a person whom society misrepresents.[19] März' poems, many of which are based on, or inspired by, the poems of mental patients (most notably Herbrich [a pseudonym], who was published by the psychiatrist Leo Navratil), show a more simplified, natural perception than the average human reveals. However, Kipphardt is careful to point out that they are not the work of a madman but just a person with altered, unusual perception.[20] Kipphardt reworked the theme, both as a

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[19]The comment on the back of the flyleaf of the stage play makes this even more apparent: "Ich lade den Zuschauer ja ein, in März nicht nur den Erkrankten zu sehen, nicht nur ein Minus, sondern ich lade ihn ja auch ein, in ihm zu sehen den anderen Entwurf von Menschlichkeit." (Heinar Kipphardt, *März* [Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1980]).

[20]This becomes even more apparent once the reader appreciates that the theme of madman as outsider is used less in the cause of general human tragedy than as part of a scientific investigation. The book is about schizophrenia but equally it is about scientific methods, in other words, the madman is placed in his social context.

screenplay (1977, director Voitek Jasny) and a stage play (premiered 11.10.1980, Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus, director Roberto Ciulli).

His next publication was a series of poems under the title *Angelsbrucker Notizen* (Kipphardt was living in Angelsbruck at the time), which include a number of poems deriving from his interest in the work of so-called madmen. Following this came his penultimate work, a collection of his annotated dreams, *Traumprotokolle*, (1981). Apart from these his last years were filled with adaptations of his works for stage and screen. Heinar Kipphardt died in Munich on 18th November, 1982, of heart failure.

At first it would appear difficult to assimilate the adaptation of *Die Soldaten* into Kipphardt's *oeuvre*. However, even this brief appraisal of his *curriculum vitae* affords some clues. Kipphardt began as a psychiatrist and, as modern Lenz critics frequently bemoan, Lenz was for far too long an object of scrutiny not for his works but for his oddity value as the mad poet. From a psychiatric point of view Lenz is a fascinating case and Kipphardt, as *März* reveals,[21] never lost his interest in the transposed reality of the mad:

> Mich hat die Abweichung sehr angezogen, und ich spürte auch als ganz junger Mensch, dass da in

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[21] Kipphardt shows that madmen are often misrepresented by showing the historical continuation of this misrepresenation. Thus it is said of Sepp, one of the patients in the book, "So lebte er dahin," an obvious evocation of the final words of Büchner's *Lenz* (Heinar Kipphardt, *März*, [Munich: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1976], p.139).

> mancher Psychose ein menschlicher Entwurf anderer Art steckt. Mich interessieren die Leute, die mit dieser Realität nicht fertig wurden, sehr. Ich empfand auch eine ziemliche Nähe zu ihnen.[22]

Lenz, therefore, affords the opportunity for investigation as a figure misrepresented by society. The most conclusive way of showing that Lenz, although not the norm for *Sturm und Drang*, deserves more than cursory attention is not a long treatise on him but a means of making his work more available to the public so that they can judge his works on their merits. The history of Lenz on the stage up to this point has mostly been one of miserable failure. There was only one major exception, Brecht's *Der Hofmeister* adaptation. Thus, one presumes, the logical step would be to undertake the same for *Die Soldaten*. It is also interesting to note that Kipphardt's reworking of the text came at a time of low literary production (although the period was positively fruitful in comparison to the arid years following his removal as artistic advisor in Munich), just as Brecht undertook a number of his adaptations at low points in his own creativity.

It is, however, too simplistic merely to see Kipphardt's attraction to Lenz in terms of a filler for a creative mental block and an interest in psychiatry. Thus an attempt should be made to see whether Kipphardt and Lenz could be viewed as part of a similar literary tradition. As has been seen, Lenz has been called the father of German

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[22] "Ruckediguh," *Ts* I, p.337.

social drama.[23] From Lenz the path leads to Büchner,[24] writer, scientist, political activist, not only because Büchner is concerned with the plight of the downtrodden but also because he is concerned with the plight of Lenz himself. The trail then disappears under the niceties of poetic realism to re-emerge at the end of the century with the Naturalists:

> Characteristic of both movements [Storm and Stress and Naturalism] is the fact that the adherents of neither were content to remain in their own immediate domain but produced a *litterature engagée* aimed at improving social conditions in the world around them.[25]

There were, of course, numerous differences between the approach of the *Stürmer und Dränger* and the Naturalists but a strong affinity remains. Carl Bleibtreu in *Revolution der Literatur* (1886) is even more specific in his recognition of Lenz as an important forerunner:

> An unmittelbarer Wahrheit, an wirklicher Lebenskenntnis und Charakteristik bleiben auch die künstlerisch verfehlten Produkte Lenz's immer noch unerreicht. An Lenz wird der moderne Naturalismus der Zukunfts-Dramatik viel zu lernen und zu studieren haben.[26]

Many of the minor figures of German Naturalism may have recognised the importance of Lenz but it took Franz Wedekind

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[23]Von Wilpert (p.719) sees Lenz as the first to practise in drama what he calls the second form of social literature, one "die bewusst in die Klassenkämpfe zwischen Arm und Reich, Unterdrückten und Unterdrückern eingreift". See also Dosenheimer (p.38) who places Lenz firmly as the first German playwright to produce social drama.

[24]In its obituary for Kipphardt, *Der Spiegel* points out the link between the nineteenth and twentieth century authors (*Der Spiegel*, Nr. 47 Jg.36 22.11.82).

[25]Maurer, p.78.

[26]Quoted in Maurer, p.84.

to bring Lenz to any major acclaim.

Again it is the stress on social conditions and the need for their improvement which link Lenz to Expressionism and consequently to Brecht and Piscator. It is at this point in the history of ideas that firmer ground is reached when one is attempting to find an answer for Kipphardt's interest in Lenz. Kipphardt's links to both Brecht and Piscator are not only reasonably obvious but also acknowledged by Kipphardt himself. Any appraisal of the documentary drama of the 1960's recalls the attempts made by Erwin Piscator in the 1920's. There are major differences: one hesitates to call *Hoppla wir leben!* and *Trotz alledem* dramas, they fit far more under the rubric of political revue. Such plays point forward to a new society and are a definite attack on the ruling classes. This excessive optimism and causticity is tempered by the time Kipphardt, Weiss et al. turn to the genre. Their works are far more retrospective, investigating events past and putting them in their context. If anything they are plays designed to make the audience think, theirs is a far more subtle didacticism than Piscator's. However, as Kipphardt stated at Piscator's funeral: "Wir alle kommen von deinem Theater".[2']

This leaves the question of the influence, the example of Brecht. It is probably no exaggeration to say that Bertolt Brecht has left his mark on modern German authors more than any other twentieth-century German dramatist.

[2']Quoted in Rühle, p.9.

Kipphardt can, at no point, be accused of plagiarism, indeed, he admits Brecht's larger-than-life reputation rather intimidated him,[28] but their joint quest to understand the causality of the world and their belief that it could be changed cannot be denied:

> Hier [bei Kipphardt] haben wir also wieder das Brechtsche Ziel des Studierens oder Verständlichmachens der Zusammenhänge einer Welt, die auch Kipphardt zudem ausdrücklich als veränderbar bezeichnet.[29]

That this is just as pertinent to Lenz cannot be overlooked. The links between the *Sturm und Drang* author and the twentieth-century writer who took up the cause to make him less obscure are remarkable. They do not make themselves obvious in content or style but more in philosophy. Kipphardt's fascination for Eichmann and his attempts to break down the bogeyman image are the result of a belief that it is not an inherent wickedness in an individual which leads him to evil but his surroundings. Here, too, lies one of the tenets of thought in *Die Soldaten*. The belief that men are created good is a fundamental element of Marxism; Kipphardt was a professed, if critical, Marxist,[30] and the brief summary of the Lenz play in Chapter One reveals that many of Lenz's ideas can be incorporated into a philosophy which believes that man is corrupted by his social

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[28] See "Ruckediguh," p.338.
[29] Taëni, p.126.
[30] See "Ruckediguh," p.339. Kipphardt altered his blanket acceptance of Marxism (the essays/articles he wrote for *Deutsches Theater Bericht über 10 Jahren*, [Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1957] reflect the euphoric acceptance of socialist principles), but never rescinded his allegiance to the creed.

surroundings. Therefore, although Lenz did not wholly share this view but felt that society only exacerbated and clarified the flaws already present in man,[31] it is quite feasible to draw similar conclusions from *Die Soldaten* when the soldiers' scenes are considered. Lenz shows that the longer the period of service and the more involved one is in corporate life the more warped an individual becomes. Over and above this, Lenz's didacticism only makes sense if one accepts that there could be some improvement in man's condition if, and when, society could be changed.

Lenz died long before the advent of clinical psychology and, therefore, although an anachronism, *Die Soldaten*, with its attempts to show not just the results of a situation but also the why and wherefore of how it arose, reveals an interest in the area that came to be termed psychology. Kipphardt has been seen as important for the fact that his works are an attempt to link the didactic with the psychological:

> [...] er [Kipphardt] ist der einzige deutschsprachige Autor, der sich szenisch um eine Synthese der Ideen unserer zwei wichtigsten zeitgeistigen Gebäude bemüht, mit der Verbindung jener Ideen, die durch die Namen Freud und Marx

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[31] See *Die Freunden machen den Philosophen*: "Der Mensch ist so geneigt, sich selber zu betrügen; hat er Verstand genug, sich vor seiner Eigenliebe zu verwahren, so kommen tausend andere und vereinigen ihre Kräfte, seine entschlafene Eigenliebe zu wecken, um den Selbstbetrug unerhört zumachen" (*WuS* II, p.319). Duncan (pp.141-150) goes into some detail about the dichotomy in Lenz between his theology, moral sense and language, which are rooted in the eighteenth century, and his perception of the interaction of the individual and society, which is far more in line with modern thought.

bezeichnet sind.[32]

It is his penetrating view of society which gives Lenz the magic which has attracted modern critics. As stated, serious Lenz appreciation commenced in the 1960's and Lenz had hit the headlines when Bernd Alois Zimmermann's opera of *Die Soldaten* premiered in Cologne in 1965. For these reasons, coupled with the fact that Brecht had already undertaken a *Bearbeitung* of *Der Hofmeister* which had lifted Lenz from obscurity, it is not surprising that Kipphardt should essay the same for the 1776 play. Kipphardt has said very little about his reworking, and, indeed, very few Kipphardt critics mention the work in any detail.[33] Despite this it is not difficult to understand the appeal of the whimsical Lenz to a writer like Kipphardt. Underneath Lenz's idiosyncrasies there lies a far-sightedness and an acute sense of reality which can only attract the perceptive and the positive.

Kipphardt left his readers with two pieces on his adaptation: a treatise *Zur Bearbeitung* which has appeared with every published text and a more detailed analysis of alterations scene by scene which has, so far, only been published in *Stücke* II. An appreciation of the latter will be undertaken in Chapter Four, but before a close analysis of the original and Kipphardt's version is undertaken it will be of benefit to study the reasons Kipphardt gives for

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[32]Wiebel, p.14.
[33]The Peters/Töteberg essay in *KLG*, as yet the most extensive piece of writing on Kipphardt's *oeuvre*, fails to mention both *Die Soldaten* and *Sedanfeier*.

embarking on the adaptation and what his aims were. Kipphardt describes the play as one of the "Schlusselstücke"[34] of German drama but he bemoans the fact that although one of the "folgenreichsten"[35] works in the language it is also one of the least known. Kipphardt sets out to rectify this situation and uses as his explanation for reworking the text the fact that Lenz himself recognised that his plays were not in a completely stageworthy form:

> Alle meine Stücke sind grosse Erzgruben, die ausgepocht, ausgeschmolzen und in Schauspiele erst verwandelt werden müssen. Wenn ich in Ruh komme, dramatisiere ich sie alle.[36]

Kipphardt states that his adaptation is to remain as close to the original as possible. The play will be modernised and certain irregularities are to be amended but these changes are not to remove from the breathlessness and the intentional jerkiness of the original. Basically, Lenz is to come first and Kipphardt second:[37]

> Die Absicht ist, die Schönheiten des alten Stückes zur Geltung zu bringen, verdeckte Schönheiten sichtbar zu machen und gleichzeitig die Schwächen und Unschärfen der Vorlage zu beiseitigen. Dabei durfte der unruhige und unregelmässige Gang der Handlung nicht geglättet werden, dabei sollten die Rauheiten und Krassheiten des Originals eher verstärkt werden als verlorengehen.
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> Das Prinzip der Bearbeitung war, den Lenz so weit wie möglich zu respektieren und soviel wie notwendig zu ändern.[38]

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[34] *Stücke* II, p.253.
[35] *Stücke* II, p.253.
[36] *Stücke* II, p.253. Quoted from "Nachwort und Notizen zu *Den Freunden machen den Philosophen*".
[37] The same can certainly not be said of Brecht's intentions in the *Der Hofmeister* adaptation.
[38] *Stücke* II, p.253.

It therefore remains to be seen whether Kipphardt was able to manifest these intentions in his adaptation, whether he could restrain his own creativity and merely alter where desirable, or whether his own concepts and style have infringed on his task.[39] It must also be evaluated whether Kipphardt's reworking had the desired effect on the public, namely "den *Soldaten* des Lenz den Platz im Bestande der deutschen Schaubühne zu erwerben, der ihnen zukommt und der ihnen seit nahezu 200 Jahren verweigert wird".[40]

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[39] Kipphardt defends the documentary drama from the claim that it is merely pastiche when he says that his plays contain much that is his own: "Es [ein Theaterstück] enthält natürlich [...] meine Betrachtungsweise, meine Schreibweise, meine Szenenführung, auch meine Personen. Ich stecke im Material, ich entreisse ihm die mich interessierenden Bedeutungen". ("Ruckediguh," p.341).

[40] *Stücke* II, p.254.

III. Textual Comparison of the Two Plays

A. Structure

When the structure of the two plays is compared, there appears initially little change. Both have five acts, Lenz's original has 35 scenes in total which Kipphardt reduces to 32. Acts I and II run parallel in both plays, Kipphardt divides Lenz III,1[1] into two scenes, moves L.III,7 to K.III,5, introduces a new scene as K.III,9 and combines L.III,9 and L.III,10 into one scene. Act IV in Kipphardt again reveals some juggling of the original, scenes 1–3 are parallel, L.IV,4 becomes K.IV,6, K.IV,4 is a combination of L.IV,5 and L.IV,10, and K.IV,7 consists of elements of L.IV,7 and L.IV,10. Kipphardt omits L.IV,11, L.V,1 and L.V,2 and the plays then run parallel to the end (See Appendix A for diagram). Lenz's play consists of 1,881 lines, whereas Kipphardt's version has 2,216 lines, an increase of 335. When these figures are broken down act by act, there is an increase in K.I of 268 lines (from 369 in Lenz to 637), K.II has a reduction of two lines (387 in Lenz, 385 in Kipphardt). K.III shows an increase again, this time of 46 lines (from 627 in Lenz to 673), as does K.IV, one of 54 lines (from 290 in Lenz to 344). K.V suffers a decrease of

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[1]To differentiate between the Kipphardt and the Lenz texts, act/scene references will subsequently be prefixed by K. and L., eg. K.IV,4 or L.IV,4.

31 lines (208 in Lenz, 177 in the revised version).

If the two plays are compared even more closely, a number of surprising facts emerge. This becomes apparent when one looks at the number of lines directly incorporated from Lenz by Kipphardt.[2] Overall Kipphardt incorporates 1,332 lines from Lenz, the breakdown act by act being as follows: K.Act I contains 362 original lines, K.Act II 289 original lines, K.Act III 395 original lines, K.Act IV 193, and K.Act V 93. There are also a surprising number of additions by Kipphardt. In total Kipphardt adds 884 lines of his own, 275 to Act I, 96 to Act II, 278 to Act III, 151 to Act IV, and 85 to Act V. However, it is not just in the addition of certain lines of his own that a difference occurs. There are a number of total omissions from the Lenz text, indeed 384 lines in all. In Act I 67 lines are omitted, in Act II 56 lines, in Act III 144 lines, in Act IV 55 lines, and in Act V 62 lines.

On their own these figures reveal very little, but their effect on the style and characterisation of the revised version is quite marked. Kipphardt states that his avowed intention is merely to re-work the play to make it stageworthy and to alter only when necessary to make the *Bearbeitung* more lucid and consequential. Therefore the

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[2] I have included as identical lines which have been modernised, mostly by altered spelling or vocabulary, but where lines are transferred from one character to another, I have viewed them as new lines (this mostly appertains to the concluding scene in each play). This breakdown does not show where lines from a scene in Lenz are incorporated into a different scene by Kipphardt.

theatre-goer should expect certain structural changes, mostly of an expository nature, and modernisation of the archaic elements in the language. There are three purely technical alterations. Kipphardt introduces a greater consistency to the division of scenes. Thus L.III,1 becomes two scenes as a change of location is involved (from outside Aaron's home to his bedroom) and L.III,9 and L.III,10 are run together as K.III,11 as the entrance of the Gräfin does not, in modern drama, constitute reason for a new scene. Kipphardt moves L.IV,4 to K.IV,6 so that Desportes' knowledge of Marie's flight accords better with the chronology of the work.

B. Content

The most confusing element of the main plot is the role that the Jäger plays, as he appears in only one scene, L.IV,8, completely unannounced.[3] The plot to discredit Marie with an "affair" with another man is much expanded in Kipphardt. He adds a new scene, K.III,9, and enlarges upon the three scenes in Lenz where the plot is hatched and carried out. Thus L.III,7 with 24 lines is lengthened to 50 lines in K.III,5, L.IV,4 with six lines becomes K.IV,6 and has 14 lines, and L.IV,8 with seven lines becomes K.IV,8

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[3]It is not until L.V,3 that Desportes mentions that he has written to his huntsman and given him *carte blanche* in his treatment of Marie. Although the Jäger enters brandishing a letter, and Desportes is seen to write one in L.IV,4, it is not clear that these are one and the same letter.

with 25 lines.

In Lenz Desportes is seen worried about the effect the continuous stream of letters from Marie and her father could have on his future if discovered by his own father. He concocts a story to discourage her letter-writing which the audience hears of when the device of reading aloud his letter to her is employed. At the same time (L.III,7) he devises a plan to make her forget him by having Mary take his place. Kipphardt incorporates the information in this scene into a conversation between Desportes and his secretary, who takes over the role of the Jäger in the original. This allows the monologue, unpopular nowadays, to be discarded in favour of more realistic dialogue. The scene accentuates the difficult position Desportes is in by stressing the importance of the *Promesse de Mariage*, which, if he were forced to carry it out, would involve the loss of his inheritance. Moreover, the idea of having Marie seduced by another, whereby Desportes could legitimately refuse to marry her due to her "impurity", is broached in this scene. A remnant of Lenz's Jäger remains in that the seduction is planned for the "Jagdhaus". As opposed to Lenz Kipphardt has the devilish ideas originate not from Desportes but his secretary. It is probably for this reason and the degree of intimacy he shares with his master, shown in the fact that Desportes takes his suggestions seriously, that his profession is altered. He is no longer a man of brawn but a man of brains, privy to the personal affairs of his

employer.

The next appearance of the theme is in the scene unique to Kipphardt, K.III,9. Here Desportes is seen to feel the pressure of Wesener's letters demanding repayment of the debts he shouldered for the officer. Desportes is also seen as jealous of the roles Mary and the junge Graf are playing in Marie's life, a side of his character not revealed in Lenz. In this scene it is once again the Sekretär who has the ideas and concocts the story of Desportes' imprisonment by his father to force him into an arranged marriage,[4] which should, he hopes, stop Wesener from writing for a while. The penultimate appearance in Lenz occurs in L.IV,4 when Desportes is seen, alone in his prison cell, with a letter from Marie which states her intention to come to him. The scene ends with his writing a letter but whether to Marie or his huntsman is unclear. Kipphardt rectifies this in his version when Desportes states that he is writing to his secretary (and the audience, which has been privy to their scheming, is aware of the dastardly plan to be enacted). Kipphardt again eliminates the monologue as Haudy is present and his questioning allows Desportes to elucidate on the plot. A remark by Haudy also clarifies a problem of location. Desportes has been in Phillippeville up to this point, presumably at the family estate, but is now in Armentières, the regiment's base. Desportes' position will

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[4]This idea comes originally from Lenz when in L.IV,1 Mary mentions to Stolzius that he has heard this from Desportes. Kipphardt retains this as a second reference to the ruse.

be compromised wherever Marie choses to go; in Armentières he will be the laughing stock of his regiment, in Phillippeville there is the risk that his father could discover her. Haudy is given the task of informing the audience that she will, more than likely, go to Phillippeville as the fact that Desportes is behind bars is little known.[5]

Thus the scene is well set for the glee of the Jäger/Sekretär at the thought of seducing Marie. In Lenz he is seen clutching his master's letter, ecstatic at the thought of the game about to fall into the trap: "O! da kommt mir ja ein schönes Stück Wildpret recht ins Garn hereingelaufen. [...] – o das arme Kind – ich will dich erfrischen" (L.IV,8, p.234). Kipphardt is far more explicit, showing Marie's encounter with the Sekretär and her utter helplessness once Desportes' deception and collusion in the seduction become apparent.

Kipphardt also enlarges upon the tricks played upon Rammler and the Jew, although not to the same extent. The duping of Rammler is extended when Mary is seen talking to him (K.III,1) explaining the ease with which he will be able

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[5]This is, admittedly, a repeat of L.IV,2 and K.IV,2 but helps to increase tension as now Marie's fate with the Sekretär is almost sealed. The one anomaly with the question of location comes in L.IV,6 and K.IV,5. Stolzius has heard that Desportes is back in Armentières, perfectly feasible through the military grapevine; why Mary should immediately assume Marie is aware of this, considering he has just been surprised with the news himself, is never explained. It would, however, be farcical to have the two of them arrive in the nick of time to save the maiden from the clutches of the evil retainer.

to "cuckold Haudy". This serves to reawaken the idea first mentioned in II,2 (both versions), which was devised as retribution for Rammler's curtailing of the officers' sport with Stolzius. Kipphardt also introduces an element of slapstick when he has Rammler actually crawl into bed with Aaron, who falls out the other side in his effort to escape the marauder, which gives the other officers all the more reason to laugh. Different to the original, Mary gives the poor hounded Jew some explanation for their behaviour which Aaron seems surprisingly quite content to accept.

Kipphardt not only gives greater exposition to a number of the more confusing scemes but also ends the proliferation of very short scenes. Thus the famous six-word speech of Wesener: "Mariane' fortgelaufen – ! Ich bin des Todes" which constitutes L.IV,5, is incorporated into one scene with the news of the Gräfin's incapacitation (L.IV,10) to become K.IV,4. The impact of the bailiffs sealing the Wesener household (and presumably impounding their possessions), mentioned in passing by Frau Wesener in L.IV,10, is made more immediate and given greater significance by the fact that the announcement of the impending visit is made on stage. By transposing the crux of the information contained in L.IV,10 into two separate scenes (K.IV,4 and K.IV,7) Kipphardt succeeds in reducing the number of very short scenes.'

'The Titel/Haug edition uses Mariane for Marie. Along with Kipphardt and the majority of critics I refer to her as Marie throughout.

'Although this makes the play easier to stage and follow, it

Not content with extending the length of scenes by combining individual scenes in the original, Kipphardt also lengthens scenes by adding new information. The most obvious example is K.IV,7, where Charlotte bemoans the effect Marie's flight could have on her life: the gossip of the town, Herr Heidevogel's possible rejection of her and her financial future.

A number of the short scenes are totally discarded by Kipphardt. These are L.IV,11, L.V,1 and L.V,2,[7] all of which are monologues. The first of these shows Stolzius outside the apothecary's. He is nervous, frightened that the apothecary will divine the real reason for his purchase of poison. However, his timidity is overcome when he recalls the general injustice done to the weak and the specific plight of his loved one. Given the modern dislike of the monologue, Kipphardt has struck the scene rather than compromise the individual nature of the murder and its ultimate futility[8]

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[7](cont'd)does reduce the effect of a *Raritätskastenwelt*; the audience is still allowed ring-side seats but the longer scenes do not have the staccato nature of the original, almost "now you see it, now you don't" in essence, which really gives the impression of seeing a private world not normally open to public view.

[8]I disagree with Heinz Lorenz, who sees Stolzius' act as a blow for the bourgeoisie: "Es bleibt [...] ein gesellschaftlicher Protest gegen die freche Willkür des mächtigen Adels" (Heinz Lorenz, "Die ästhetischen Anschauungen des Dramatikers Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. Eine Untersuchung zur Tradition des Realismus in der deutschen Dramenliteratur," Phil. Diss. Greifswald 1968, p.192). Over and above the fact that Osborne (p.143) even questions Stolzius' ability to carry out the deed, referring to Büchner's *Woyzeck*, where Woyzeck murders Marie rather than the Tambourmajor, his superior in rank and strength, the murder of Desportes serves no purpose, it does not alter

by having Stolzius discuss his plans in front of others. The first two scenes of L.V show Wesener and Marie on separate routes to Armentières. Wesener expresses his distress at the thought of his daughter at the mercy of Desportes, and his intention to seek her out despite the fact that his business collapsed two years previously[9] and continued time away from home can only damage family life further. The second scene shows the pitiful state of Marie, weak, impoverished, hungry, broken in body and spirit. Her utter desperation is shown in the fact that she now views death as a preferable alternative to her present existence: "Ich kann's [das Brot] nicht essen Gott weiss es. Besser verhungern [...] Ich will kriechen so weit ich komme, und fall ich um desto besser" (L.V,2 p.239).[10] Again the exclusion of these scenes is regarded as preferable to transposing them into dialogue and thus alleviating the distress shown in them.

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[8](cont'd)the outcome in any way and Stolzius himself is destroyed as a result of it. Although Stolzius refers to injustice, to credit his act with great social awareness is to misinterpret its individual nature.

[9]By omitting this scene Kipphardt removes the anomaly that it has been two years since L.IV,10, yet in L.IV,11 Stolzius buys the poison which kills Desportes in L.V,3.

[10]In Lenz there is a much earlier reference to her death wish: "Trifft mich's so trifft mich's, ich sterb nicht anders als gerne" (L.I,6 p.197). Kipphardt strikes this, but adds the rather cryptic remark: "[...] wenn nur für mich ich wüsst wohl – was ich tu" (K.III,2), which could just imply that, but for the sake of her family, she would pursue Desportes to the ends of the earth, but could also be interpreted as a desire to end her suffering.

C. Characterisation

Kipphardt also repairs some of the weaknesses of the Lenz text by fortifying a number of the characters and giving a complete *dramatis personae*. Thus, unlike the Lenz original, Jungfer Zipfersaat, Aaron, the Gräfin's servant, now named Philippe, and Gilbert appear in the *dramatis personae*. Gilbert is also given a much larger role. He does actually appear in the Lenz text; he is mentioned in L.IV,2 in connection with the upcoming soirée at Madame Bischof's and even has a minor speaking role in the scene set in her home. Kipphardt tidies up a number of the unspecified spoken lines in the soldiers' scenes by accrediting these to Gilbert. Therefore he is made more prominent as a character, but his speeches are not significantly altered from lines already extant in Lenz. The Jäger/Sekretär figure, as already discussed, has a dramatically increased role, appearing in three scenes altogether in Kipphardt, compared to only one in Lenz. This increases the number of lines he speaks eleven-fold, from five to 57 and he also has his place in the *dramatis personae*.

Another of the characters to appear on Kipphardt's list of characters is Wesener's mother. As with Gilbert and the secretary, she takes a more prominent role than in the original. In Lenz she appears only once, in L.II,3, hobbling on stage with her knitting to sing a folk song which not only serves a predictive function but which also enables Lenz to portray the seduction indirectly: the words of the

song, combined with the noises off-stage, make the sexual nature of Marie's activities with Desportes perfectly clear. Kipphardt retains the song but this is not the first glimpse the audience has of the grandmother, nor is it to be their last (and nor is it the only reference the audience has to the physical nature of the lovers' relationship). In Kipphardt she also appears in K.I,5 and K.III,8 and her spoken role is increased accordingly, rising almost three-fold from 12 to 33 lines.

In K.I,5 she is present at the supper table as the famliy awaits Marie's arrival for dinner. She is more than a trifle deaf and insistently asks after Marie's whereabouts in the same croaky, grating voice Lenz endowed her with. Her deafness is again stressed in her final appearance, K.III,8, where she continues to sing despite protests by Frau Wesener that she is inhibiting conversation. Kipphardt introduces a new *Volkslied* at this point, which, as in her song in II,3, has a prognostic function. It deals with the murder of a loved one because of betrayal.

Da drunten auf der Wiesen
Da ist ein kleiner Platz
Da tät ein Wasser fliessen,
Da wächst kein grünes Gras.

Da wachsen keine Rosen
Und auch kein Rosmarein,
Da hab ich mein Liebsten erstochen
Mit einem Messerlein.

Hast du mich denn verlassen,
Der mich betrogen hat,
Der Leib, der wird begraben,
Der Kopf steht auf dem Rad. (K.III,8, p.228)

Although Stolzius does not murder Marie for her betrayal of

his love, the theme of murder, betrayal and retribution, seen as punishment in the song and realised in Stolzius's suicide, is present in Stolzius' murder of Desportes.

This is not the only new folksong Kipphardt introduces into the play as Marie is also seen at the beginning of K.I,6 singing a snatch of a song:

> Der Esel hat Pantoffeln an,
> kam über's Dach geflogen,
> kam zu meiner Kammer rein,
> war ich schon betrogen. (K.I,6, p.202)

Kipphardt again maintains the Lenzian idea of the song not being a distraction from the action but having significance by pre-empting events in the play.'' Again the song deals with the theme of sorrow and duplicity in love, this time appertaining to Marie's own deception and seduction which the audience is to see graphically at the end of the scene, when Desportes is revealed hiding behind the curtains of the bed and the sexual act is euphemistically described as a prayer to the god of beauty.

Kipphardt not only strengthens a number of the characters who appear in the *dramatis personae* for the first time but also increases the significance of a number of the characters who are already well established in Lenz. Thus Frau Wesener's speaking role is increased by a third again, rising from 28 to 38 lines. Mary, too, has more to say,

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''I do not think Marie can be accused of consciously foretelling her own dilemma, just as the grandmother does not have a vision greater than the other characters, cf. Oehlenschläger's differing view (p.775). The song has a significance for the audience which is lost on the characters.

indeed almost a quarter as much again, his lines being increased from 138 to 168. Pirzel is the character who has the most apparent increase in significance and his lines are correspondingly more than doubled, from 41 to 110 lines. The more prominent position he is given in the play prepares the audience for the important function he performs in the last scene. He takes over the role of the Graf von Spannheim/Gräfin de la Roche and suggests the "Pflanzschule für Soldatenweiber" as a solution to the seduction of middle class girls by lascivious army officers.

If one looks at the earlier scenes he appears in, his new lines are in keeping with the personality Lenz has given him. He is still the rationalist out of control, the reformer only capable of advocating hare-brained schemes[12] constructed out of a pure logic devoid of any consideration for human error or emotion. If only people would use their mental facilities, if only they would think, then the world could be righted. He first appears in K.I,4, the theatre discussion scene, from which he is absent in Lenz. However, although present, he takes no part in the wranglings over the degree of influence theatre can have, but provides almost comic relief with his convoluted theories as to why the soldier on guard duty should be prostrate and not erect:

> Sie [Eisenhardt] glauben, dass er steht und rumgeht,
> folglich gesehen wird, vom Feind so der sich
> anschleicht, wer aber denkt, Herr Pfarrer,
> wohlgemerkt, der findet aus, dass er still liegen

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[12]Kipphardt makes the point that the basis for the military schemes proposed in K.I,4 are, however, taken from Engel's military writing (*Ts* II, p.317).

muss und sehen. (K.I,4, p.196)

That lying on the ground rather impedes one's view of the enemy seems to escape his logic. Once Eisenhardt instigates the argument over the relative merits of theatre by condemning the immorality of contemporary theatre and can no longer serve as captive audience, Pirzel turns to the junge Graf and discusses the benefits of the rifle (*Büchse*) over the musket and expresses his disgust with the soldiers' handbook: "tschiff, tschiff, aber das Exerzierregelment" a number of times. He exists in his own world, incapable of true communication,[13] merely content to advertise his schemes to anyone unfortunate enough to be buttonholed by him. The whole regiment, although often exasperated by his pratings, has a strange affection for this oddity and frequently encourages him to make a larger fool of himself than he already is. Even the Obrist, recognising his eccentricity, allows himself the luxury of humorous criticism of one of his men: "Er ist ein Unikum, Pirzel, Er ist ein Theoretiker. Wir schicken Ihn, wenns Krieg gibt, zu den Österreichern" (K.I,4, p.200). In other words, Pirzel is of more benefit disrupting the enemy's camp than fighting for his own side!

His next appearance in Kipphardt co-incides with his first stage appearance in Lenz (II,2), but Kipphardt again

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[13]The theme of non-communication is a major one in the Lenz play, each character is alienated from the world around him and flounders in the morass of his own isolation. Inbar makes the point that the letters in the play are not a sign of communication but signify the collapse of relationships. (Inbar, *Shakespeare in Deutschland*, p. 227).

increases his role. He is still seen arguing over what constitutes a perfect being but also, to the delight of his fellow officers, he proves that logically a sin cannot exist. In Lenz his spoken role ends with his treatise on mutual respect: "Meine werten Brüder und Kamaraden, tut niemand unrecht [...]" (L.II,2, p.201), which Kipphardt retains, but he is given a commentary role'[4] which could almost be seen as a reflection on the whole play: "[ich denke] Über die Liebe – ja – wozu – wozu?" (K.II,2, p.213). Man may allow his passion to run away with itself but if this passion is not combined with an awareness of its consequences, that is, if man does not think, then the point is lost and the result can only be negative.'[5]

As in Lenz, his next appearance is in a dialogue with Eisenhardt as the two walk along the old town moat. Kipphardt's conversation follows the gist of the discussion in Lenz but Pirzel's rationalism, more specifically his attack on emotion, is developed further: "Ich stelle die Behauptung auf, dass ein Charakter moralisch um so höher zu bewerten ist, je weniger er seinen Neigungen folgt" (K.III,6 p.225f.), and the brief additional remark: "eins, zwei, eins, zwei" stressing mechanical thought, brings him one

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'[4]This "ability" to comment on the general aspects of specific incidents also prepares the audience for the much more extensive comment he is to make at the end of the play.

'[5]The stress on the necessity of man to use his brain and Pirzel's doubt of love are particularly pertinent to Kipphardt's version, where it is not only Marie who is shown to suffer because of her inability to consider consequences, but Desportes, too, who allowed his heart to run away with his head and is shown as far more emotionally affected by his affair with Marie than in Lenz.

step nearer to the curt style of the docter in Büchner's *Woyzeck*. The major difference in this scene is, however, the lack of Eisenhardt's asides. Thus "(*Bei Seite*): Weh mir, wie bring ich den Menschen aus seiner Metaphysik zurück – " and "(*Bei Seite*): Was die andern zuviel sind ist der zu wenig. O Soldatenstand, furchtbare Ehlosigkeit, was für Karikaturen machst du aus den Menschen" (L.III,4 p.216 and 217) are omitted and Eisenhardt's third cutting aside in the original: "(*Bei Seite*): Der philosophiert mich zu Tode" (L.III,4 p.217) is retained, but Kipphardt has him say it directly to Pirzel's face. This modernisation removes the need for asides, little part of modern serious drama, and Kipphardt retains the important "O Soldatenstand" idea when Eisenhardt says it of Haudy and his harsh words to Madame Roux because she has been delayed bringing the punch.''

This scene is the last Lenz's audience sees of Pirzel, but it is to him that Kipphardt gives the role of offering a solution to the dilemma of soldiers enjoying the fruits of love with young single women but leaving them alone to deal with the consequences. The actual idea of a "Pflanzschule für Soldatenweiber" is not expanded upon, Pirzel's words being a repetition of the Graf von Spannheim's in the

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''This could also lend the idea greater importance. The soldiers reflect best Lenz's use of caricature but Pirzel is most definitely one of the most bizarre and exaggerated figures. By applying this remark, not to the ramblings of a military Professor Branestawm but to the harshness and lack of consideration for others Haudy reveals, it is given greater credence and shows more seriously the warping of personality that ensues as a result of corporate life.

original.'' The role of the doubter, originally performed by the Gräfin when she queries whether any woman would ever voluntarily accept a position as unmarried partner, is taken over by Eisenhardt. In Lenz the suggestion is instigated by the regret over the incidents portrayed in the play shown by the Obrist and the Gräfin, two sympathetic characters, and their attempt to prevent their re-occurrence. In Kipphardt the idea is motivated when Eisenhardt refers back to Haudy's remark made in K.I,4: once a whore, always a whore. The play ends not with the hope of the Obrist's for a more harmonious society:

> Die Beschützer des Staates würden sodann auch sein Glück sein, die äussere Sicherheit desselben nicht die innere aufheben, und in der bisher durch uns zerrütteten Gesellschaft Fried und Wohlfahrt aller und Freude sich untereinander küssen. (L.V,5 p.247)

but with an overheated Pirzel pontificating again on the superiority of mind over heart like some crackpot orator on a soapbox (in the stage instructions a stool, but in the premiere Desportes' empty catafalque).

There are two characters in the Kipphardt whose roles are reduced quite significantly, namely the representatives of a sympathetic, philanthropic aristocracy, the Graf von Spannheim and the Gräfin de la Roche. Both have their speaking parts almost halved, the former from 58 to 29 lines, the latter from 189 to 104 lines. This reduction can partly be explained by the fact that they no longer have the

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''Kipphardt bases his scene upon the revised version which Lenz wrote after reservations by Herder about the original. See *Briefe* I, 145.

task of providing the final commentary to the work but there are also a number of other omissions elsewhere.

As in Lenz the Gräfin first appears in the scene where she convinces her son that her "medicine" will be a better cure for Marie's dilemma than his own (L.III,8, K.III,10). In Lenz she is shown concerned about the welfare of one of her servants. Kipphardt omits this and his scene commences when the audience sees her keeping a motherly eye on her son's whereabouts by having his valet tail him to check on his movements and the company he keeps. Kipphardt also cuts her speech where she voices her concern over her son's good nature and the pain this causes her: "Muss denn ein Kind seiner Mutter bis ins Grab Schmerzen schaffen? Wenn du nicht mein Einziger wärst und ich dir kein so empfindliches Herz gegeben hätte –" (L.III,8 p.222).'' This awareness of the dangers of excessive emotion in one so young'' is stressed later in the Lenzian scene when she tells her son: "[...] ich habe kein härteres Herz als du. Aber mir kann das Mitleiden nicht so gefährlich werden" (L.III,8 p.223). The Gräfin is older and wiser and her experience of life helps her to keep her strong emotions more under control. Again Kipphardt cuts this remark, and shows her as more explicitly

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''This again conforms to Kipphardt's consistent efforts to restrict monologues to a minimum.

''In Lenz the youthfulness of the junge Graf is stressed when he first appears in the company of his tutor (L.I,4). Kipphardt strikes this character as he only appears once and speaks five lines about the importance of a theatre of good taste for the regiment. These lines are apportioned to the junge Graf himself by Kipphardt. Although this removes the need for the minor character, it does make the junge Graf into a more mature and opinionated young man.

concerned with the effect his tête-à-tête could have on his relationship with his intended:

> Und sieh, ob du die Folgen deiner Handlung selber tragen willst. Willst du dein Glück und meins und alles hier durch deinen Eigensinn zunichte machen? Fräulein Anklam hat Verwandte hier, sie weiss, dass Jungfer Wesener nicht im bestem Rufe steht, [...] (K.III,10 p.232)

This concern is re-iterated when her promise to help Marie is immediately followed by another reference to a letter from Fräulein Anklam, which presumably voices fears over the junge Graf's fidelity.[20]

Kipphardt ends the scene with an attempt to be consequential about the distorting effect military life has on a person.[21] Kipphardt is no longer content to have the junge Graf merely voice his intentions of punishing his valet for not being awake to assist him and to be appeased by his mother's greater sensibility but, in fact, has him call for Philippe and give him a thick ear "Für [s]eine Dienste" (K.III,10 p.233) despite his mother's intervention on the servant's behalf.[22]

The following scene, as the Gräfin carries out her promise to offer help to Marie, shows a major reduction in

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[20]As a soldier the junge Graf would be unable to have a legitimate fiancée. Therefore, one must presume he only has a short commission and will be later free to marry.

[21]See also K.II,2 Haudy and K.III,7 Mary.

[22]In the Lenz, however, the junge Graf could be seen to have more cause to chide his valet for leaving his mother to open the door. Not only was it unseemly for the woman of the house to have to admit callers but it could have been dangerous in the days of vagabonds and cut-throats. In Kipphardt the junge Graf lets himself in, thus he strikes Philippe in a fit of pique, not because of the servant's lack of consideration for the Gräfin's position.

the number of lines the Gräfin speaks in the Kipphardt version. In Lenz she speaks 100 lines, in Kipphardt only 56. The lines Kipphardt gives her follow almost word for word the Lenz text but with major omissions. However, this gives a greater unity to the work as a whole. In Lenz the Gräfin is the only character to whom long, reflective speeches (one is tempted to call them orations) are accorded. Kipphardt has her follow the suit of the other characters by truncating her speeches so that they do not run the risk of rising to profound heights. In Lenz the Gräfin is eloquent and her speeches have an air of sensibility and use high-flown phrases which actually say little, being more an expression of her character than advancing the plot. True to Kipphardt's intention to cut the number of decorative, unnecessary speeches, the Gräfin's lines fall victim to the chopping block. Thus her second speech is cut by half, the omitted section merely states that she has much to tell and ask Marie. In the following speech the reference to Richardson's *Pamela* is cut. One could argue that this is because the novel is now far less well-known than it would have been to contemporary audiences and thus the retention of the reference would not enlighten the majority of theatre-goers.[23] A number of the cuts to the Gräfin's

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[23]This does, however, pose the question as to why Kipphardt retains the references to the theatre programme Marie and Desportes see, *La Chercheuse d'Esprit* and *Le Déserteur* (K.I,3 p.194), and the actor/manager Godeau (K.I,3, L.I,4), both equally unlikely to be known to modern audiences. The maintenance of the theatre references could be explained, as the titles themselves are of relevance to the play, but the point of the Godeau reference remains dubious.

speeches have to do with the fact that Marie did not merely have her head turned by the amorous attentions of an officer but was all too willing to listen to his flattery, viewing him as a means of social advancement:

> Es fanden sich Leute über Ihren Stand die Ihnen Versprechungen taten. Sie sahen gar keine Schwürigkeit eine Stufe höher zu rücken, Sie verachteten Ihre Gespielinnen, Sie glaubten nicht nötig zu haben, sich andere liebenswürdige Eigenschaften zu erwerben, Sie scheuten die Arbeit, Sie begegneten jungen Mannsleuten Ihres Standes verächtlich, [...] (L.III,10 p.226).

Kipphardt does not have the Gräfin blind to Marie's social ambitions but he does reduce the amount of space he dedicates to her psychological analysis of why she is now the focus of gossip in the town. As this analysis is placed in the context of the effects such a book as *Pamela* could have, the removal of in-depth analysis means the reference is dispensable. On the whole the Gräfin is less expansive. She does not go into detail about the consequences of marriage for an officer. Thus "Die Liebe eines Offiziers, Marie – ich kenne seine Verhältnisse" (K.III,11 p.235) replaces "Die Liebe eines Offiziers Mariane – eines Menschen, der an jede Art von Ausschweifung, von Veränderung gewöhnt ist, der ein braver Soldat zu sein aufhört, sobald er ein treuer Liebhaber wird, der dem König schwört es nicht zu sein und sich dafür von ihm bezahlen lässt" (L.III,10 p.227).

Towards the end of the scene the Gräfin makes her offer to Marie. If Marie will promise to avoid male company for a year, she will take her on as a companion, educate her in

the arts and employ her to help bring up her daughter. Kipphardt retains the first two offers but omits the third, the position of responsibility.[24] The scene also ends slightly earlier in Kipphardt as he removes any reference to the emotional effect the meeting has had on the Gräfin.

In Lenz the penultimate appearance of the Gräfin comes when she discovers Marie's rendezvous with Mary, for Kipphardt audiences this is the last they see of her. The scene in Lenz is set in the garden of the de la Roche estate. The Gräfin paces up and down, worried about her new charge, when she hears voices, and already suspicious that Marie is awaiting a pre-arranged meeting, she overhears the off-stage conversation of Marie and Mary. In Kipphardt this scene is set in the music room of the Gräfin's summer-house and opens with Marie and Mary already together, the meeting having even less of a co-incidental air about it. Their conversation is lengthened (from 17 to 25 lines) and, generally, the audience is left with the impression that Marie is even more unhappy and confused than in the original. As in Lenz the meeting comes to a premature end when the sound of a stranger approaching is heard. The subsequent appearance of the Gräfin is for Kipphardt audiences thus her first in the scene. She has been informed of Marie's whereabouts rather than happening on her by

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[24] One could argue that this is to remove mention of extraneous characters. Thus Stefan, the Weseners' servant who posts Marie's letter to Stolzius in L.I,1, is struck but, surprisingly, the reference to the officer Reitz (II,2 both versions) is retained.

chance or intuition.[25] The Gräfin's chiding of Marie follows Lenz for the most part, the only difference being a substantial reduction in her final speech where, in Lenz, she queries the effect of her own magnanimity:

> Ich weiss nicht ob ich dem Mädchen ihren Roman fast mit gutem Gewissen nehmen darf. Was behält das Leben für Reiz übrig, wenn unsere Imagination nicht welchen hineinträgt; Essen, Trinken, Beschäftigungen ohne Aussicht, ohne sich selbst gebildetem Vergnügen sind nur ein gefristeter Tod. Das fühlt sie [Marie] auch wohl und stellt sich nur vergnügt (L.IV,3 p.232).

The last Kipphardt's audience sees of her is as she sings a French song to her own accompaniment on the harp (a harpsichord in the premiere), the vocalisation of her fears being stifled by, one presumes, a melancholy song.

The fact that the Graf von Spannheim's role is severely reduced results mainly due to his altered function in the final scene. Although still present, he is no longer the instigator of reform. In both plays he first appears in I,4. He is shown more as a diplomat, keeping the two disputing factions apart, rather than taking any major part in the discussion on theatre, if anything more interested in his game of chess than the argument in progress. In neither play does he re-appear until the last scene, although Lenz has Pirzel laud him in L.III,4, which Kipphardt omits. In the modern version his role in the final scene is much truncated. Apart from the significance for his character, as he no longer suggests reform, there are two other

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[25]The fact that the Gräfin uses others to keep an eye on and inform her of Marie's activities accords with the use of Philippe to "spy" on her son in K.III,10.

alterations. Firstly, although still shocked that such events could occur as a result of the actions of regimental members, he makes no mention of financial assistance for the two ruined families. Secondly, the Obrist is seen joining in with the general teasing of Pirzel.[24] Admittedly he is not entirely neutral in Lenz, one gets the impression he rather sympathises with Haudy in L.I,4 when he is described as quietening him "unwillig", but, on the whole, as a just commander he is able to restrain his personal feelings and does not use his influence to sway the argument. On the other hand, the irony implied in the last lines he speaks in Kipphardt cannot be missed.

D. Stage Directions

Another interesting area of comparison between the two texts is their employment of stage directions, as Kipphardt reveals a far smaller reliance on them. Lenz litters his play with instructions on how actors are to interpret his words, the lines frequently interspersed with the accompanying movement. A modern playwright is far less dictatorial to actors and speeches are rarely interrupted with explicit instructions on how to move, the interpretation being left to the individual director. However, as an example, I would like to compare two scenes in some detail, namely L.III,10 and K.III,11 from the entrance of the Gräfin, to show the changes.

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[24] See also his criticism of Pirzel in K.I,4.

In Kipphardt there are five stage directions: the Gräfin holds Marie's hands and sits with her on the sofa, she kisses Marie, Marie cries, Marie sobs ("schluchzt") and ends the scene by lowering her head and falling on her face. The first two come directly from Lenz's initial two directions but then Lenz has Marie wipe her eyes, show joy and ardently kiss the Gräfin's hand. The Gräfin holds Marie to her breast. Marie does not just cry but weeps over the Gräfin's hands, she does not just sob but falls on her knees before the Gräfin and hides her face in the latter's lap and later movingly lifts her head. The Gräfin is passionate ("hastig") in her insistence that it is not too late to help Marie, Marie falls backwards, her hands folded, and when she falls on her face, this is described as a prayer-like movement.[27] Thus Kipphardt either cuts or much abbreviates many of Lenz's directions. Many of the original instructions could be interpreted by the modern audience as overly dramatic: the wiping away of tears, the passionate kissing of a benefactor's hand, falling to one's knees in another's lap. One must admit that many have the hallmark of Victorian melodrama. As stated, a modern director would not leave the play devoid of movement and would supplement the text with his own ideas, but for the reader, lacking the visual

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[27] Lenz's extensive use of directions is probably a result of the state of acting in the eighteenth century, just emerging from the declamatory style, whereby it was quite possible that only an explicit instruction would allow for an emotional gesture. However, important here is not an appraisal of Lenz's use of directions *per se* but the difference between the two texts.

stimuli, the vivid instructions given by Lenz vastly aid interpretation. Kipphardt does not just omit or truncate a large percentage of the stage directions but on occasions actively changes them. In L.II,3 the commencement of amorous activities is sparked when Marie, in her attempt to prevent Desportes from interfering in the letter she is writing to Stolzius, marks his face with ink from the quill pen. The gesture is simultaneously childish and coquettish. Kipphardt replaces it with a far less effective petty interchange between the two.

Much has been made of Lenz's use of gesture and pantomime[28] and, indeed, in a play which deals with alienation from others and from oneself, where characters are often incapable of vocalising their emotions, the liberal use of stage instructions, that is, of gesture, aids comprehension and also enhances the theatricality of the work.[29]

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[28] See Inbar, *Shakespeare in Deutschland*, pp.182 and 209.
[29] Horst Schäfer makes the point that Lenz is also very adept at creating atmosphere by his use of light and climatic conditions. (Horst Schäfer, *Das Raumproblem im Drama des Sturm und Drang*, [Emsdetten: Verlag H. und J. Lechte, 1938], p.95.

IV. An Interpretation of the Changes

Chapter Three reveals that there were some substantial changes made to the Lenz text. The question to be answered is whether these are in keeping with Kipphardt's intentions or whether the play, in its revised version, comes to different conclusions. This interpretation will be divided into the major categories of plot and character (with further sub-divisions to aid reading), and the import of the amendments will be compared to the original text and also to Kipphardt's more detailed resumé of his alterations published in *Stücke* II.[1] The chapter will conclude with a brief summary of the appreciation of the revision by a number of critics.

A. Plot

Stress on the socio-economic and political situation

Throughout the play Kipphardt emphasises the economic dependence of the townspeople on the aristocracy, or, more specifically, the soldiers. Armentières is a garrison town and thus one would expect the local tradesmen to do a large percentage of their business with the military. This is

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[1] Where Kipphardt's comments require greater scrutiny this will occur in the text, but on those occasions where Kipphardt's analysis concurs with the writer's, the scene and page reference will be given in parentheses.

apparent in the Lenz text:[2] Stolzius has an order for a regimental flag, Wesener has traded with Desportes on other occasions and Madame Roux' establishment is frequented almost exclusively by soldiers as proven by Stolzius' hesitancy at entering. Kipphardt, however, accentuates the reliance of the bourgeoisie upon their trade with the army.

As a businessman Wesener sports a shop-keeper's clipped, humble style of speaking in Lenz; this obsequiousness and the importance of making a sale is far more obvious in the modernised version. In K.I,3 he delays showing his brusquer home manner until after Desportes has left, his behaviour towards Desportes when he first enters the shop is far less jovial and far more matter of fact, he only mentions the fact Desportes' lady companions were not in town for carnival because he has a number of hair combs to sell them, he puts careful pressure on Desportes to purchase the most expensive comb, and in K.II,3 he excuses himself from Desportes because the shop is unattended. However much Wesener hides his economic dependence with a salesman's smile it is still there. His friendly manner has an underside of worry; thus when Desportes casually mentions settling his account, Wesener pretends this is a trifle which can be delayed, but immediately betrays his real reliance on the money: "O das hat gute Wege, es ist ja nicht das erste Mal. Wenn Sie jedoch gleich machen wollen –"

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[2]Although she tends to view Lenz as a proto-Marxist, Nahke (pp.294–310) offers some useful analysis of the economic conditions in the play.

(K.I,3, p.192). The distortion that life as a businessman causes in Wesener also filters through to other members of his family as witnessed when Marie defends her unnatural style of writing because her father uses it "alleweil in seinem Briefen an die feinsten Häuser" (K.I,1, p.189).

Kipphardt intends to stress the dichotomy of Wesener's position as salesman and family head: "Der Vater braucht Bürgerstolz, der Juwelier Gefälligkeit und Anpassung" (I,3, p.316), and, therefore, keeps the two sides of his character more separate than in the Lenz.[3] The results of an enforced life where an individual has one face for the world and one for the family are seen when Wesener is pressured into accepting responsibility for Desportes' debts. Kipphardt not only has him shoulder the 700 Taler owing to Herrn Seidenhändler Zipfersaat but also 400 Taler for the tailor and 800 Taler for the carriage-maker. The soldiers spend much money in the town and now Wesener has to pay for Desportes' extravagant living. As Kipphardt states (III,4, p.320), this makes the ensuing bankruptcy more plausible, its effect is also made more apparent. Not only is the notice of seizure served on stage: "Der Punkt der ökonomischen Zerstörung der Familie Wesener wird gross gezeigt" (IV,7, p.326), but, in the same scene, Charlotte alludes to the effect it will have on her future.

It is not only the Weseners who must run their lives according to the whims of the aristocracy. As mentioned,

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[3]See the section on Marie's home milieu for a more detailed breakdown of this aspect.

reference is made to other business people and Stolzius' trade as cloth-dealer is emphasised far more (I,2, p.316). Kipphardt states that Stolzius' first appearance on stage "in einen Arbeitsvorgang im Laden verlegt [wird]", but there is no mention of this in the stage directions. This anomaly is permissible as the conversation between Stolzius and his mother revolves around the rush order for the regimental flag. It becomes clear that Kipphardt feels the economic position of the various groups is paramount in determining their actions when he places this scene under the rubric of "Leute arbeiten, verfolgen Interessen, Gedanken aus Interessen" (I,2, p.316). Thus Kipphardt is trying to show that Stolzius' love for Marie is interfering with his work, in other words, genuine personal relationships are impossible within the given social framework.[4] The fact that Stolzius is unable to concentrate on the business at hand and has to be pulled from his reveries is emphasised when his mother has to entice him to work on the order by promising him Marie's letter. Despite the opposition of personal and mercantile interests, Kipphardt reveals how Stolzius' nature is subordinate to his business position when he falls into salesman's patter and cries: "Das Tuch, das Tuch! Er kriegt's ja nirgendwo so billig wie bei uns und noch auf Wechsel" (K.I,2, p.191). Again his dependence on

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[4]Kipphardt says that he de-romantizes this scene so that "[...] die Idylle begegnet [wird]" (I,2, p.316), and, as will be discussed in the section on Stolzius, he makes his love for Marie more concrete. However, when one considers the Lenz text, it is difficult to describe the lovers' affair as a genuine relationship.

the aristocracy is seen when Haudy is revealed in K.II,2 as middle-man for Stolzius' orders with the regiment and Stolzius stresses that he cannot afford the gossip resulting from Desportes' affair with Marie: "Aber das Gerede, Herr Major! Die Garnison, die Kundschaft" (K.II,1, p.206). His subjection to the will of the soldiers is thus increased and, therefore, it becomes clear that, despite his unease, he cannot refuse Haudy's invitation to the coffeehouse and must endure the soldiers' teasing.

Aaron, too, is seen as having to subjugate himself to the caprices of the military. They are bored, they devise a trick for Rammler, but he is not the only victim.[5] However, not being their equal like Rammler, he cannot show his annoyance but must be grateful that he is only "halbtot": "Ein Spass, Gad sei bedankt, ein Spass der Offiziers, Gad sei bedankt" (K.III,2, p.219). This episode is important for Kipphardt not just because it is a further illustration of the hold of the military over the townsfolk but because he places it in its political and historical context. Thus the theme of anti-semitism is developed: "[...] hier wird die Szene verschärft und sozial relevant gemacht" (III,1 and 2, p.319). The Jew is given the stock profession of moneylender, and an avaricious moneylender at that; Gilbert

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[5]Kipphardt states that he alters the beginning of this episode, not to make the situation clearer (which the alteration does achieve), but so that Rammler and the Jew can be tricked without appearing "Vollidioten" (III,1 and 2, p.319). However, Aaron is in no position to act contrary to the soldiers whether he is made more dignified or not, and throughout the rest of the play, Rammler is seen as an idiot so that the change is unlikely to have this effect.

is outside his house, "einen Schuldschein nachzulesen, von einem Jud, der zwanzig Perzent nimmt, aber ohne Sicherheit" (K.II,2, p.212). The anti-semitism of the officers is furthered when Mary (along with the junge Graf, the most pleasant of them in Lenz) refers to the Jew as a "Sauigel". The cliché of Jew as usurer allows the officers to vent their anti-semitism but it also gives them some justification. Therefore, Kipphardt's attempt to raise the Jew from "das antisemitische Klischee der Lenz-Zeit" (III, 1 and 2, p.319), is made laughable. It is fair to say that this comment is made in connection with the fact that he is trying to show that Aaron's fear is no longer a reputed Jewish trait but has definite cause, however, despite this, Aaron remains a figure of cliché. More importantly, however, Kipphardt shows up the prank of the officers for what it is, not high jinks but just another form of Jew-baiting and racism, when he gives Aaron the lines: "War ein Pogrom in Rowno, ich hab verloren mein Handel, war ein Pogrom in Brodno, ich hab verloren mein Sohn, Gad, was verlier ich jetzt?" (K.III,2, p.218).[1] This time he is lucky; he only loses his dignity as Rammler's attempt on his life fails. Kipphardt describes the behaviour of the soldiers as one that is anti-semitic but "freilich unwissentlich". This could be upheld when one considers that they also play tricks on Madame Bischof, Rammler and Stolzius but the fact

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[1]Kipphardt is guilty of an anachronism here. The play is set in 1770, pogroms did not become historical reality until after this date.

that Kipphardt adds the two afore-mentioned anti-semitic references would imply that there is a certain amount of conscious prejudice.

In his resumé Kipphardt points out that Wesener has recourse to the law to force Desportes into marriage and also apply pressure for repayment of debts. This attempt to place Wesener's actions within a class framework is first broached in Kipphardt's comment on I,6:

> Wichtig ist Lenzens Fähigkeit, die Stände kritisch zu beschreiben und ihre Gedanken und Handlungen interesseverbunden vorzuführen. Der Bürgerstolz Weseners, sein Klasseninteresse dokumentierend, zielt auf private Aufhebung seiner Klassenlage durch Heirat der Tochter. Er verkennt die Reichweite seiner Kampfmittel – Vertrag – den höheren Klassen gegenüber. Die Tendenz zur privaten Emanzipation, wo Klassenemanzipation verschwindet, lässt ihn zum Gelegenheitsmacher werden, gemildert durch den Umstand, dass er das aus äffischer Vaterliebe tut (I,6, p.318).

This may be fair comment for a modern audience, indeed, justifiable interpretation for a Marxist, but Lenz is not writing from a Marxist standpoint. To imply that Wesener failed because he acted as an individual and not as a class, and then to infer condemnation is not only totally out of character to Lenz but almost appears pretentious.[7] Later in the commentary, Kipphardt again refers to Wesener's bourgeois perception in his attempt to compel Desportes to do his duty when he calls his legal and personal pressure ("Vertrag, Schuld") "bürgerliche[n] Mittel" (III,9, p.322).

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[7]Although the question would be facetious, one is almost tempted to ask whether Wesener would have had more success had he organised a strike and demanded the officers treat the townsfolk with more consideration!

Not only did Wesener have no other channels open to him but one wonders what other methods an aristocratic family would employ were they to find themselves in a similar position.

Kipphardt not only attempts to place the actions of the middle class within a class framework but he also goes into great detail about (what he sees as) the real reasons for the Gräfin's philanthropy. He feels that Lenz is far too naive in his portrayal of her kind deeds. This implies criticism because Lenz has not realised that the Gräfin is incapable of acting out of the goodness of her heart but is basically only assisting Marie to prevent her son from getting involved and to dupe the middle class into thinking that there are some "good eggs" in the aristocratic ranks:

> [Die Philanthropie der Gräfin...zeigt] Wie die Rolle des Wohltäters vorzüglich geeignet ist, sozialen Frieden zu stiften. Natürlich behält sie auch bei mir [Kipphardt] das Bewusstsein, eine Wohltäterin zu sein, aber der Zuschauer sieht, dass ihre Interessen diese Haltung produzieren. Übrigens so gewohnheitsmassig, dass sie wie eine Charakteranlage erscheint. Die caritativen oder mäzenatenhaften Neigungen vieler Mitglieder der oberen Klasse, besonders bei Frauen zu beobachten, sind eine ganz unbewusste wohltätige, herzlich-menschliche Ergänzung zu der dürren, herzlosen, geschäftsbedingten Ausbeutung, denen die Männer ja in ihrer Eigenschaft als Produktionsmittelbesitzer leider nachgehen müssen. Sie fühlen diese Dürre, diese Kälte, diese Reduktion der Beziehungen, und sie brauchen den menschlichen Ausgleich. Ganze Firmen triefen ja seit längerer Zeit vor sozialer Philanthropie, sie wollen die Künste und die Wissenschaften an die sehnigen Brüste drücken, ganz in dem richtigen Gefühl, vor der Welt doch nicht in dem nackten und unansehnlichen Profitinteresse dastehen zu dürfen. Da müssen Rosen her, die Ketten ansehnlich und blühend machen. Natürlich bleiben auch rosenberankte Ketten Ketten. Aber, das wird auch vergessen, wo diese Ketten zusammenlaufen, da sind sie auch angekettet. Die Philanthropie und die Künste, da war früher die Religion. Es kommt dazu,

> dass diese Tätigkeit im Befördern der höheren Dinge ganz unentbehrlich ist, sollen die alten Verhältnisse aufrechterhalten bleiben. (III,10, p.322–23).

The consequences for the character of the Gräfin will be discussed in the section on the aristocracy but here, again, one becomes aware of the Marxist veneer Kipphardt is applying to Lenz.

Thus, throughout, Kipphardt is placing the work in its historical, political and socio-economic context, a viewpoint which was, naturally, unavailable to Lenz. By strengthening the dependence of the town on the military, by making the soldiers' pranks more sinister and by stressing the class-bound actions of Wesener and the Gräfin, he implies a greater criticism of the aristocracy and excuses the behaviour of the bourgeoisie. Lenz criticises all social classes, although his sympathy can be seen to lie with the underdog. Kipphardt may be of the opinion that, were Lenz alive today, he would be a socialist and, therefore, his alterations would be in keeping with a latter-day Lenz. A latter-day Lenz is not being dealt with here; Lenz is writing on the situation from the perspective of a pre-class-awareness era. Historical hindsight has shown that only on rare occasions was true emancipation and social harmony the result of aristocratic agitation, but Lenz is still making valid points when he attempts a solution to social wrongs which is contained within the social framework and which does not require the abolition of the class system *per se*, but a realisation amongst all levels of society that

they are partly to blame for the dilemma. Over and above this, all of Lenz's writings reveal that he did not think that there were simple answers to the world's problems. To apply the panacea of Marxism to Lenz goes totally against Lenzian principles.

Greater emphasis on caricature

Caricature, the exaggeration of one or more characteristics in a figure to the detriment of a fully developed personality, is very much a part of Lenz's style, *Die Soldaten* being no exception.[1] Indeed, all the characters in the play, excluding Marie, and possibly the Gräfin, fall into this category. The characters are often a cipher for a certain way of thinking (Pirzel, the Gräfin), or a stock character (Charlotte, the spiteful sister, Rammler, the politicking buffoon, Desportes, the cad).

Kipphardt carries the use of caricature to even further extremes and in his version it is only Marie who could be said to escape the cartoonist's brush. However, even this is doubtful; she is more coquettish and less humble so that she runs the risk of being viewed as the flirt who gets her just rewards. The Gräfin's doubt, her soul-searching are missing and thus she becomes the well-meaning aristocratic female attempting to alleviate the harsh system imposed by her male

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[1]See Pascal, p.34 and Lawrence P. A. Kitching, *Der Hofmeister. A critical analysis of Bertolt Brecht's adaptation of Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz's drama*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976), p.54. Cf. Kindermann, p.223, who denies the use of caricature in the play.

counterparts by benevolent acts which are doomed to failure. One has to admit that she fails in the original also, but her very doubt of her actions lifts her into the realm of the real and the human.' By quashing these misgivings and allowing her to fall back upon God as defence against Marie's attempts to fight against the social system: "Das heisst, Sie [Marie] wollten die Welt umkehren, wie sie von Gott eingerichtet ist" (K.III,10, p.235), Kipphardt reduces her to the one-dimensional and cuts off hope that there could be change within the social system. For, if the aristocracy are not prepared to doubt and to question, but only to dole out unsuitable, if well-intentioned,'° help, then they are unlikely to come up with new thinking, the prerequisite of change.

Kipphardt not only de-sensitises the Gräfin but tends to make the soldiers crasser in their unthinking brutality. Thus, in K.II,2, Haudy crudely refuses the punch that Madame Roux has brought because the service was not the swiftest, not surprising in a cafe overcrowded with carousing soldiers. Rammler, in K.III,2, is not content to show his rage and humiliation by turning on those who were the instigators of the trick but, instead, vents his frustration by attacking the hapless Aaron, who is only saved from strangulation by the intervention of the other officers. The

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'It is this questioning of her actions by the Gräfin which makes Kipphardt's interpretation of her as a conniving mother, only intervening to save her son any embarrassment, a distortion of the Lenz.

'°Well-intentioned in the Kipphardt sense implies the intention to maintain the *status quo*.

junge Graf is now no longer to be swayed from rash action by the gentle logic of his mother: once her back is turned, his brutish nature reveals itself and Philippe does not escape without a beating. The corporate influence now has a greater hold over his life than his mother's humanity. Mary also does not evade the stereo-type of the inhumane officer. He is seen as anti-semitic, and even though he waits behind to explain why the officers took the liberty of entering Aaron's house: "Still, doch, es ist ja bloss ein Spass, es ist der Rammler," this could also be interpreted as an attempt to prevent the Jew causing a furore and making the childish activities of the officers public. Moreover, the inclusion of the episode with the recruit, at the start of K.III,7, shows up Mary for the person he is. The game-keeper's son is seen only as a hunk of flesh, and Stolzius' feigned enthusiasm is exploited to avoid paying out twenty livres in recruitment fee (III,7, p.321). Kipphardt again stresses the inconsideration of the officers in IV,1 (p.324), when he points out that Mary's thoughtless discussion of his love for Marie shows that "Stolzius ist für Mary nur noch der Bursche" and that he has completely forgotten Stolzius' own involvement with the girl.

Kipphardt's greater dependence on caricature makes the work more black and white. Although it must be said it is only the delicate, almost *petit point* portrayal of Marie which fully reveals Lenz's subtlety of characterisation, other characters, too (the Gräfin, her son, Mary) are more

rounded than in the revised play. The modern version's greater use of the clichéed shopkeeper mentality in the figures of Stolzius and, especially, Wesener is explicable as they are shown as forced into this by the economic hold of the military on the town and thus the caricature is double-edged. It is the more extensive use of caricature where the aristocracy are concerned which is of greater import; they are most definitely the exploiters, a blanket interpretation far from Lenz's intention.

The use of seduction on stage

One is immediately struck by Kipphardt's more overt portrayal of seduction. Lenz does not disguise the fact that Marie loses her maidenhood to Desportes, nor does he hide the sexual expectation of the Jäger, and Wesener's annoyance at the approach of the begging girl in L.V,4 can be put down to the fact that he feels this is only a veiled proposition by a lady of the night. Consistently throughout the play Kipphardt choses to make these references to libido more obvious and more graphic. He not only enlarges upon the seduction scenes alluded to in the original (L.II,3 and IV,8), but even adds an extraneous one. Rather than have I,6 end with Marie's despair, her complaints are interrupted when she is surprised by the vision of the hot-blooded officer reclining in her bed. His amorous activities are intruded upon and, as in a farce, he is forced to hide from the unsuspecting father, only able to continue his carnal

pleasures once the coast is clear.'' Thus by the time the grandmother sings her song to the accompanying sounds of love-making, the audience has already been privy to a far more intimate encounter and can only view the folk song as ironic in its coyness.

Kipphardt continues this more liberal attitude to open sex when the secretary is shown about to ravish Marie, her defences down at the stunning news that Desportes is acting in conjunction with this blackguardly libertine. Although the depiction of the unavoidable rape lacks the tactfulness of the Jäger's taciturn, yet heavily pregnant, speech, Kipphardt can be credited with some subtlety. The audience is not confronted by an horrific rape scene. The secretary is a man of intellectual, not physical, strength. Thus the audience sees "Eine Vergewaltigung mit den Mitteln des Intellekts. Marie wird nicht von dem Sekretär sondern von den Briefe des Desportes zerbrochen" (IV,8, p.326).

The modern audience, which has seen Shakespeare played naked, will not be shocked by seduction scenes; it has witnessed far more in the name of art. However, to regard Kipphardt as merely running with the mode, offering instant titillation, is to view the matter too superficially. It is fair to say that Kipphardt introduces an element of farce,

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''In his resumé, Kipphardt makes no reference to this farce-like situation. He sees Wesener's interruption as evidence that he is giving serious consideration to marriage plans for his daughter and Desportes, and that the latter's illicit intrusion reveals his strong love and not, as the situation would appear to show, his determination to "get his oats".

not only in K.I,6 but also when Rammler climbs into bed with Aaron, the petrified Jew tumbling out the other side. Marie is seen as a more willing participant (I,6, p.317). Not only does she succumb to Desportes' advances far earlier in their relationship,[12] but (in K.II,3), rather than hide her letter to Stolzius in her pocket she tucks it coquettishly in her bodice. However, by having Marie flaunt her sexuality, Kipphardt shows that her motivation is primeval, she has little control over her basic urges and succumbs, not only to the advances of another, but also to her own subconscious self.[13]

The second seduction scene which occurs in full view of the audience does not come unexpectedly. The plot to discredit Marie is well-planned and, after Desportes' prison conversation with Haudy, it is clear that Marie is to be delivered up to the secretary. This clarity would appear to render the ensuing seduction scene unnecessary. However, it does allow the audience to see the depths to which Marie has sunk. Her total disillusionment reduces her to a puppet incapable of resisting the licentious secretary. Kipphardt views this episode as a turning point in the drama (Marie realises the situation is hopeless and is now powerless to alter her fate as a beggar), and feels that it, therefore,

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[12]Kipphardt justifies the addition of this scene as he feels it reveals the genuine affection the two lovers have for each other. Thus Marie does not "bargain" for Desportes attention with her virginity (I,6, p.318).

[13]A number of critics have emphasised the lack of free will in Lenz's characters. See McInnes, "Die Regie des Lebens," p.278 and "The Development of Social Drama," p.65, and Spalter, p.13.

warrants a scene of its own (IV,8, p.326). No wonder then, that after such an experience, she seeks to survive as a prostitute, a fate which Kipphardt makes abundantly clear (V,2, p.327). In Lenz Marie could be afforded the benefit of the doubt, in Kipphardt she is working in tandem with a companion, stage instructions state she is "auf Männerfang" and her voice has "die Routine des Gewerbes" (K.V,2, p.250).

Thus there are reasons for Kipphardt's alterations, but one must ask whether these would be apparent to an audience or whether a stage production would quash the justification which longer and more concentrated consideration allows. The more overt Kipphardt version definitely destroys the subtlety of Lenz,[14] and although the changes are made with good intent, the accusation that they merely feed a modern audience's appetite for more lurid sex scenes'[15] is one that any director must be at pains to avoid.

The revised end to the Marie/Wesener story

> **Marie** Vater! *Sie fällt halb ohnmächtig nieder.*
> **Wesener** *schreit:* Marie! Marie! *Er fällt zu ihr nieder. Leute versammeln sich. Eine Stadtwache erscheint. Marie rafft sich auf und läuft mit ihrer Begleiterin davon.*
> **Wesener** *zu der Stadtwache:* Wo ist sie hin? Wo wohnt sie?

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[14] Lenz did not shirk the seedier side of life, however. Seduction of young girls was no stranger to eighteenth-century drama, but castration, as in *Der Hofmeister*, certainly was. Thus Lenz cannot be accused of prudishness; he merely shows decorum in his portrayal.

[15] See Hans Schwab-Felisch, "Schade um Lenz Kipphardts. Bearbeitung der *Soldaten* in Düsseldorf," in *F.A.Z.*, 20.8.1968 and Wolfgang Drews, "Lenz von Kipphardt *Die Soldaten* in den Münchener Kammerspielen," in *F.A.Z.*, 29.12.1970.

Stadtwache Wer weiss das, Herr, es sind ja doch nur Huren. (K.V,2, p.251)

Thus Kipphardt determines the story of Marie and her father. No longer are they carried off, both faint with joy and exhaustion, but Wesener is left alone, the criticism of his daughter by society still ringing in his ears.''

It would be inaccurate to describe Lenz's conclusion as an unadulterated happy end, it certainly does not have the sugary harmony of *Der Hofmeister*'s final scene, but, nevertheless, 'there is certainly reason to be optimistic.'' Kipphardt disillusions the audience; the reunion fails, Marie is doomed to life as a scarlet woman, Wesener is ruined and there is no offer of financial assistance to put the penurious Weseners back on their feet. It is this element of disillusionment that Kipphardt says he is serving: "Es wird einiges getan, der hochdramatischen Theaterszene entgegenzuwirken und der Szene Lebendigkeit und Glaubwürdigkeit zu erhalten" (V,2, p.327). Purely from an objective standpoint Kipphardt can be said to offer the most

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''However, as he has shown such tenacity in his search up to this point, it is not difficult to imagine him frequenting prostitutes' haunts in an effort to relocate his daughter and bring her home.

''McInnes sees the end as optimistic; the two have overcome their illusions of grandeur and have been forced to recognise themselves anew through their suffering. This, coupled with the promised financial aid from the Obrist, means that "die Art, in der das letzte Zusammentreffen von Vater und Tochter dargestellt wird, über den Punkt von Hilflosigkeit und Verzweiflung auf eine neue Zukunft hinzudeuten vermag" (McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz*, p.104). However, René Giraud negates Lenz's idea of change within the social framework when he views Wesener's speechless collapse, along with Stolzius' suicide, as an implication of "l'irrémédiable déchéance de tout le milieu bourgeois" (René Giraud, "Théâtre et Vie Quotidienne," p. 397.

realistic ending; the misery of the family is taken to its final conclusions. The end illustrates the complicated nature of a world in which there are no facile solutions. It also heightens the futility of Stolzius' action in the preceding scene. The death of Desportes in no way alleviates the Weseners' position and Stolzius' own suicide merely leaves his mother to eek out a life as best she can.

The revised end makes no attempt to gloss over the true essence of the class structure; the middle class are down, and they are out, the aristocracy hold the trump card, one of their number may be dead, but the final scene shows that their behaviour has not altered in the slightest. Once this is realised, the real import of Kipphardt's revision can be seen. He is looking at the work from the class-oriented viewpoint of the twentieth-century. Thus, although the adapted end may contain the bitter irony of realism, it develops from an understanding, of which Lenz, present at the nascent beginnings of class-awareness, was incapable. The greater dichotomy of the classes, present throughout Kipphardt, comes to fruition in this scene when the bourgeoisie is denied any happiness. Kipphardt's attempt to stress the realism already extant in Lenz backfires when it counters Lenz's opinion that, despite the iniquities of the world, there is some degree of order and that man is capable of a certain degree of happiness on earth.

Therefore, the revised conclusion has an ironic twist, not only for the audience which hopes to see a reunion, but

also for the original Lenz. However, it could be seen as preparing the way for the far more dramatic twist that occurs in the final scene of the play.

The alteration to the final scene

Almost from its conception, the final scene has been the *bête noire* of the play. Lenz himself revised it and subsequent directors have revised it further or omitted it completely.''* The problem at the heart of *Die Soldaten* was one which, given the strict anti-marriage laws for the military, was insoluble. Young men are always going to pursue pretty girls and rare is the pretty girl who will not respond. Thus what is needed is a means of distracting the attention of the soldier and channelling his desires elsewhere. Lenz attempts this, coming up with an answer which respects the law. Obviously he himself was not content with it, Herder drew attention to its preposterous nature and even within the play reservations are expressed by the Gräfin. The seriousness of Lenz can, however, be gauged by the fact that this play was not his final word on the subject.''

''*Numerous critics have pointed out the dichotomy between the detailed and convincing portrayal of life in the play and the facile solution presented at the end. See Werner Kliess, *Sturm und Drang: Gerstenberg, Lenz, Klinger, Leisewitz, Wagner, Maler Müller*, (Velber bei Hannover: Friedrich Verlag, 1966 = Friedrichs Dramatiker des Welttheaters 25), p.59, Rosanow, p.194, McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz*, p.107, Nahke, p.327 and Titel, p.248f.

''Genton feels that because the play was superseded by *Über die Soldatenehen* it was no "ernstgemeinter, entgültiger Vorschlag". It was not Lenz's final word but revisions do not necessarily imply that the original idea was not meant

The dilemma was of enough import for Lenz that, once the work was complete, he refined the idea further. Upon longer consideration it became apparent that no amount of extra-marital relationships could compensate for the steadying effect of marriage and that, therefore, a modification in the law was required. In *Über die Soldatenehen* Lenz argues the beneficial aspects of marriage, showing that a married soldier, rather than losing his allegiance to the state, would, in fact, become more conscientious and purposed in his campaigning.[20]

I do not feel there can be any questioning of the serious nature of the final scene.[21] Kipphardt, too, does not doubt the genuine intent of the scene. It is one "in der Lenz ernstlich seine Reformideen zu den Soldatenehen vorbringt" (V,3, p.328). Over and above the fact that the idea was to engage Lenz further, he employs the two more sympathetic aristocratic characters to propose it. However, the very nature of the idea means that the scene is problematic and, indeed, one could go so far to say that it reveals less a feasible solution, than shows the manner in which Lenz's mind worked. The actual idea is impractical as

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[19](cont'd)seriously at the time of its conception. (Genton, "Lenz – Klinger – Wagner," p.72).

[20]It must be remembered that the scheme at the end of the play is suggested to protect the girl concerned, whereas the tract expands on this and basically concentrates on the quality of life for the soldier.

[21]Cf. Paul Böckmann, *Formgeschichte der deutschen Dichtung I Von der Sinnbildssprache zur Ausdruckssprache*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1949), p.665, Lorenz, p.175; and Blunden, "Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz," (pp.223–24), who feels the end is a *reductio ad absurdum*, that Lenz was intentionally ironic.

well as contrary to the moral code, but credit must be given to Lenz for being the only writer on this theme who was prepared not merely to portray the consequences of illicit love,[22] but to attempt a way of ending them once and for all.

However, even when one accepts the seriousness of the idea, it is clear that a modern playwright is confronted with a number of problems when dealing with the concept. Not only does it have more than a touch of the ridiculous as an idea *per se*, but its sinister application under Himmler's *Lebensborn* programme is still within living memory. Naturally Lenz cannot be equated with National Socialism, but merely to repeat the suggestion in its original form runs the risk of making it parodistic. Moreover, even if Volker Klotz's idea that open drama requires an *Integrationspunkt* is accepted,[23] the final scene has very much the air of an appendix, extraneous to the play as a whole. Thus Kipphardt, in his attempt to make the structure tighter, tries to integrate the scene more fully whilst using Lenzian means: "[Die Szene] wird gänzlich umfunktioniert, und zwar mit den Elementen der Lenzschen Szene" (V,3, p.328). He achieves this by having Lenz's suggestion appear as just another of Pirzel's rationalistic pronunciations.[24]

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[22]Lenz's is not even the most distressing of dramas dealing with the theme.Goethe's *Urfaust/Faust* I and Wagner's *Die Kindsmörderin* have far more apocalyptic endings for the girl concerned.

[23]Klotz, p.112.

[24]Genton points out that Kipphardt makes Pirzel out to be a

The scene is so structured that "[...] der Kasernenphilosoph die idiotischen Reformideen mit dem grössten Eifer allen als die geniale Lösung vorträgt, [...]" (V,3, p.328). It appears comic,[25] because Kipphardt has Pirzel appear as even more of an eccentric than he is in the original. This eccentricity is recognised by the others present and thus Pirzel's suggestion is disarmed: "Die Anwesenden nehmen es als willkommenen Joke, als eine der vielen fixen Ideen ihren Theoretikers" (V,3, p.328), and the earnest nature of the original is undermined.

As a play, the Kipphardt version, therefore, runs more smoothly and avoids the incredulity which the final scene is bound to evoke. However, this alteration has far deeper implications. In Kipphardt the idea can be viewed as nothing other than crazy, to be taken with a pinch of salt. This automatically has the effect of ironising the original and consequently ironises Lenz and places him again in the category of mad author. This obviously runs counter to Kipphardt's intention. He most definitely credits Lenz with social and political acumen, as well as praising the modernity of his dramatic perception. Thus it is unlikely that Kipphardt perceived the parody of Lenz himself implicit in his alteration. This point would only be apparent to

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[24](cont'd)buffoon whereas Lenz intended him as an unfortunate ("un malheureux"), moving to tears rather than laughter (Genton, "Quelques Lenziana...", in *Etudes Germaniques*, 25 [1970], 393). However, it must be admitted that Lenz's Pirzel, too, is more likely to elicit laughter than disquiet.

[25]If anything, the original solution has an air of tragi-comedy, pathetic in its gravity.

those conversant with the historical Lenz and thus the bulk of the audience would probably view the new version as appropriate to the work. However, because the parody of the author is undeniable, the question arises as to whether it would have been truer to Lenz to have omitted the scene altogether,[26] ending the play with the demise of Desportes, Stolzius and the misfortune of the Wesener family. Or, were this unacceptable, it would have been preferable to have amended it far more completely by using the ideas put forward in *Über die Soldatenehen* to which far more credence can be lent.

B. Character

Marie

Marie is the most complex, the most highly developed of all the characters in Lenz's *Die Soldaten*. She is both naive and flirtatious and decidedly easy to influence. Thus she is first seen echoing her father's business jargon in her letter to Stolzius (LI,1), and her retort to Desportes' praise of her beauty is a repetition of her mother's words: "Meine Mutter hat mir doch oft gesagt, ich sei noch nicht vollkommen ausgewachsen, ich sei in den Jahren wo man weder schön noch hässlich ist" (L.I,3, p.186). Later, once Desportes has excercised his wiles on her, she repeats

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[26]As a theatrical event,however, the staging of this scene has drawn praise, see Wolfgang Drew's article in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 6.1.1971, quoted in McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz*, pp.188–89.

verbatim his reference to Stolzius as a "Flegel" (L.II,3), and her haughty behaviour towards Jungfer Zipfersaat shows the officer's influence. However, although she is party to her downfall, the overall impression is of a young girl cocooned by her family who is ultimately unable to deal with the pressures put on her by the admiring officers.

Although Kipphardt does not eliminate her naivety, she is, throughout his version, less demure and less humble.[27] This is apparent almost from the start. Marie is no scholar and her spelling is weak. In Lenz she spells out letter for letter the words she is unsure of, like a child over a primer. In Kipphardt she merely asks Charlotte to confirm, a far more adult procedure. Indeed, Kipphardt commences the play with a demonstration of her greater self-awareness as she is able to verbalise the problem she has with writing: "Ich bin ganz dumm von diesem Brief, von all dem weiss Papier, dass man nicht schreiben kann als wie man denkt" (K.I,1, p.189). Later, when Desportes discovers her writing, she is not ashamed of her activity as in Lenz, but merely comments on its disorderliness (K.I,3). In the same scene in Lenz she seeks to hide her embarrassment at the unaccustomed flattery of Desportes by knitting, her eyes fixed on her work. In Kipphardt she only turns to her knitting once her father has entered, hiding not her awkwardness but the fact that she has responded to Desportes' honeyed words. In

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[27] Kipphardt states that he perceives her as "kindlich, naiv, es wird der Gefahr begegnet, sie sei auch dumm" (I,1, p.316).

K.II,3 she needs less of Desportes' prompting to reveal her distress and annoyance at Stolzius' chiding letter and the anguish expressed in her initial "ach" is reduced when the small word "nichts" is added to it. The same scene also shows her to be coarser. As stated, in Lenz her use of the word "Flegel" is a direct repetition of Desportes, but he does not use the term in Kipphardt, so it appears as part of her own vocabulary. After she has heard of Desportes' flight, her first thought is of Stolzius: in Lenz this immediately evokes feelings of shame, in Kipphardt these only arise after Charlotte's taunts, which implies she is less rueful. K.III,8[28] also sees her as more headstrong when she comments that her activities are the business of no-one but herself. In K.III,11 Kipphardt has reduced the length of the Gräfin's speeches, not only by cutting a large percentage of her lines, but also by having Marie interrupt far more often. Thus she appears less in awe of the aristocrat, less prepared to take her advice. Throughout, her lack of humility is replaced by greater confidence. On her return from the theatre in Lenz she stutters when she tries to explain how she came to accompany Desportes: this stage direction is cut in Kipphardt, making her appear more

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[28] Kipphardt makes one alteration in this scene which shows Marie in a better light; no mention is made to the fact that Mary's batman reminds her of an old acquaintance. Kipphardt gives two reasons for this, firstly, the story can bear no diversions at this point and, secondly, the remark detracts from Marie, who should by this time be viewed as a creature tottering on the brink of destruction. However, he does praise the Düsseldorf production for its handling of this scene, whereby Stolzius was on stage but unrecognised by Marie (III,8, p.322).

sure of her action.[29]

This greater surety of action is also revealed in Marie's attitude towards her parents. In Kipphardt she comes across as less respectful and more wilful. As he says, Kipphardt shows that Marie knows how to manipulate her father (I,3, p.316 and I,6, p.317). Once Wesener leaves the stage for a second after he has refused her permission to go to the theatre, she is openly critical of her father and his prejudices. L.I,5 opens with Marie unable to hide from her father the fact that she has gone behind his back; although Kipphardt introduces the scene with the family awaiting Marie, her entrance is not immediately followed by her outburst of the truth but she waits for her father to demand where she was. Thus she is not only more reticent to own up, but her delay makes her less naive as it implies that she is aware of her guilt. Throughout K.I,6 she interrupts her father more frequently, less the meek daughter who knows to keep quiet when her father has the word. She also reads Desportes' love poem aloud rather than just passing it to her father for his own perusal,[30] seeming, therefore, more forward. She is more hesitant to return Desportes' presents and suggests a *quid pro quo*: she will tell her father

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[29]It must, however, be noted that Desportes plays upon Wesener's prejudice against the theatre when he invites Marie and she repeats this in K.I,5: "weil er [Desportes] doch wollte – meinte, den Papa seines Vorurteils zu überführen" (p.201), and thus she has more reason to be confident.

[30]This also means that Wesener can be less sceptical (I,6, p.317). His very repetition of the lines in the original shows that he initially expresses doubt and is thus allowed greater independence from the aristocracy.

everything, not out of filial duty but "wenn ich ihn [Desportes] sehen kann" (K.I,6, p.204). Finally, in K.III,8, she shows less respect for her mother. In the original she motions at Mary to lead her mother out, she follows behind as befits her, whereas in Kipphardt she is quite happy to be led out with her mother; age no longer goes before beauty.

Marie's more headstrong nature goes hand in hand with the fact that Kipphardt makes her more of a flirt (I,6, p.317, although he also states that he makes her love more genuine, too), and increases her social expectations. The opening scene makes it clear that Desportes is already regarded as an object of desire (I,1, p.316), when Charlotte is able to prevent Marie from running to father by tricking her into believing that Desportes is outside the house. This previous knowledge of Desportes is compounded by the fact that she knows he is in Lille on a recruitment mission (I,3, p.316), and, indeed, Desportes is more familiar with her as he greets her by name the first time the audience sees them together. The first seduction scene in Kipphardt happens at the end of this act. Thus it appears less as a result of her horseplay (she is in love, Kipphardt says, and so surrenders her virginity without a struggle [I,6, p.318]), but gives the impression that Marie knows what should happen, that is to say, she is more in control of the situation.[31]

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[31]Kipphardt gives cause for her confidence in Desportes having a firmer basis. The earlier conversation with her father has revealed that Desportes has not only declared his love (as in Lenz), but has also mentioned that he is prepared to surrender family and military ties for her.

Kipphardt also increases Marie's acquisition of lady-like manners. The audience first becomes aware of the change in her in L.II,3 when she curtsies profusely as Jungfer Zipfersaat interrupts her tomfoolery with Desportes. This has a childish air about it; she is practising for the new role she would like to play. In Kipphardt she makes one deep curtsey, thus implying she is more *au fait* with the part, more expectant. This is re-iterated in her more mannered behaviour in K.III,4, where she wears a silk dressing gown and offers liqueurs and sweetmeats. Kipphardt sees this episode as one of the turning points of the play and, therefore, expands upon it. He feels that it makes the news of Desportes' desertion more dramatic and consequently sharpens Marie's reaction (III,4, p.320). She is also seen to think about men more. Upon sight of the Gräfin's page in K.III,11 she immediately presumes the junge Graf has come to call, and she interrupts the Gräfin later in the scene to ask after his whereabouts.

Kipphardt's alterations are intended to maintain her plasticity and also make her more consequential. It must be said that the changes he makes to the music room scene are effective; they conjure up the atmosphere of a caged bird[32]

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[32]Thus Kipphardt says: "Die technisch schwache Belauschszene beim Lenz ist aufgehoben, die Bedrängnis Maries ist grösser, wenn Mary mit ihr in einem Raum ist. Für die Gräfin ist das Vergehen wiederum grösser, als wenn sie nur mit jemandem vom Fenster spricht wie beim Lenz. Im Unterschiede zum Lenz wird der goldene Käfig nicht als Lösungsmöglichkeit gezeigt. [...] Die angestrebte Vernünftigkeit erzeugt Verzweiflung. Die subjektiv ehrlichen und menschenfreundlichen Hilfsakte der Gräfin erweisen sich als objektive Grausamkeiten. Ein Mensch grossen Formats (Marie) wird auf die Masse

who has lost the will to sing and to soar, and is confused when a small crack in the bars appears. However, on the whole, the alterations would seem liable to backfire as Marie becomes a less complicated character. In Lenz this very complexity makes her real, but Kipphardt, by having her more headstrong and less demure, makes her an easier and more willing victim. She certainly accords less with the eighteenth-century view of the seduced maiden, she is more Gustchen Berg than Gretchen, Evchen Humboldt or Sara Sampson. This runs counter to the greater class distinctions Kipphardt has emphasised as the audience sees her less as an object of pity. Her nature would appear to confirm Haudy's statement that there are girls who will and girls who won't. Kipphardt's Marie is a girl who will.[33]

Desportes

Desportes is the greatest anomaly in the Kipphardt version. Kipphardt's play is more conscious of class differences and far more black and white in its interpretation. Thus Desportes should appear as even more of

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[32](cont'd)zurückgestutzt, die von der Zeit erlaubt werden. Die Verführungskraft der Freundlichkeit" (IV,3, p.325).

[33]Although the text has Marie a more calculating heroine, Mechthild Lange compliments the actress who played her in Jürgen Flimm's production in Hamburg for maintaining her innocence: "Von solchem Kalkül hält Ingrid Andree die Figur völlig fern. Sie zeigt ein Mädchen, fast noch ein Kind, das sich ganz unreflektiert und unverstellt jedem Gefühl und auch jeder Laune hingibt" (Mechthild Lange's review in *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22.4.1974, quoted in McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz*, p.191). Thus Kipphardt's alterations, which imply so much in the written text, are overridable in performance and Marie can stay truer to Lenz's perception of her.

a cad than in Lenz. Lenz clearly portrays him as merely out for his own delight, even the regret which he voices in L.IV,9 is fleeting, quickly dismissed: "Ihr Bild steht unaufhörlich vor mir – Pfui Teufel! fort mit den Gedanken – Kann ich dafür dass sie so eine wird. Sie hat's ja nicht besser haben wollen" (L.IV,9, p.237). Yet Kipphardt's Desportes is a far more sympathetic character. He is seen not as a Casanova, but as genuinely in love. Kipphardt is concerned to show this love as authentic from the start: "Desportes kommt nicht nur als Verführer, er ist wirklich stark verliebt. Angezogen von Maries naiver Sinnlichkeit" (I,3, p.316). His language is, therefore, much less flattering. On his first appearance in Lenz he greets Marie as "meine göttliche Mademoiselle," (L.I,3, p.185), in Kipphardt as "O Mademoiselle Marie", and later in this scene "liebes Marieel" replaces "mein englisches mein göttliches Mariel". His overtly flattering language in the original makes him, from the start, a less genuine character.

Kipphardt also has him appear more honest. He is able to employ Wesener's middle-class narrowmindedness about the theatre as an excuse to ask Marie to accompany him. In Lenz he is forced to play a trick ("Streich"). His deceit comes out more fully once he realises that he cannot shake off Marie and her father as easily as he had hoped. The whole ruse of distracting Marie with Mary's attentions and, failing that, having her seduced by one of his men, is entirely his in Lenz. The introduction of the Sekretär and

the fact that he is, throughout, the instigator of the dastardly deeds relieves Desportes of much guilt, he is merely *party* to the plan, not its originator. It is interesting to note, however, that Kipphardt employs this device not as a means of alleviating the officer's guilt but because, should Marie force Desportes into unpleasant action, the secretary could be the scapegoat (III,9, p.322). It is this element of Wesener's pressure that Kipphardt feels is important in determining Desportes' behaviour. He is in love, at first the matter seemed so simple that class barriers were surmountable (I,6, p.318), but once his existence, that is , his position in society, is threatened he must overcome his love and act brutally (III,5, p.224). This conflict of interest verses emotion is what Kipphardt is intent on stressing. Thus in Desportes' conversations with his secretary he admits his love when asked to explain his actions: "Mein Gott, ich war verliebt. Besinnungslos, ausser mir –" (K.III,5, p.224). When this is compared to the way Lenz's Desportes speaks of Marie: "Ich muss ihr doch das Maul schmieren ein wenig" (L.III,7, p.220), one realises that the two figures are dramatically different. The same can be seen when one looks at the significance for Desportes of the seduction scene in K.I,6. It shows that he was not just interested in conquering Marie sexually but wanted to continue seeing her even after he had had his way. Not so in Lenz, the last the audience sees of the two together is immediately prior to the seduction; once Desportes has

achieved his aim he deserts her, she was merely a sexual conquest. Kipphardt describes this scene as the high point of their love (II,3, p.319); the love is genuine, Kipphardt says, because of his indignance at Stolzius' interference. Kipphardt continues the idea that jealousy implies love when he shows the officer's resentment at Mary's (and the junge Graf's) position in Marie's life.[34]

It is only in his final appearance that Desportes is shown in a bad light. In his penultimate appearance Kipphardt again improves the impression he makes. From the start, Desportes stays away from the others at the soirée and is seen with a racking cough. In Lenz, although he does not join in verbally with the sport of the others, he does not sit apart until the end of the scene, implying a lesser need for solitude. More importantly, his regret appears far more heart-felt as the "Pfui Teufel" speech is cut. Then comes the final scene and the massive change in Desportes' character. There is no more talk of love; Marie's interest in him was merely a pre-arranged blackmail attempt, he was justified in implementing his secretary's plan. For Stolzius to commit murder Desportes must appear as a blackguard – Stolzius must have cause to despise him – but it does seem strange at first that Desportes comes across as even blacker than in the original.

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[34] "This jealousy also shows Desportes' conflict of interest: "Sie [Marie] soll die Untreue zeigen, die ihn rechtfertigt. Er ist beunruhigt, wenn sie die nicht zeigt (aus Interesse seiner materiellen Existenz), er ist sittlich empört, wenn sie die zeigt (aus Interesse seiner ideellen Existenz als Liebhaber)" (III,5, p.321).

It would also appear out of character with Kipphardt's general condemnation of the aristocracy, to make Desportes into a far more positive figure. However, it is Desportes who really illustrates the trend that Kipphardt is emphasising in his version. Namely, that individuals are totally moulded by the society around them. Desportes is the only aristocrat to be painted in a positive light and it is he who shows that they, too, are "victims" of social conditions. Desportes' personal feelings cannot come to fruition because of his social position, therefore he is forced into unpleasant action.[35] Although the audience's sympathy does not lie with Desportes, Kipphardt is almost saying that, the results considered, Desportes' demise deserves as much sympathy as Marie's.

Thus explanation can be found for the major alteration made to Desportes' character but, again, it must be asked whether this is in the Lenzian tradition. Lenz's Desportes is unpleasant, thus Marie's deception is all the more pointed. However, it is the Marxist viewpoint again which does not accord with the original. That this is emphasised can be seen when one looks at how Kipphardt views Desportes' secretary. He is necessary for Desportes' positive nature to be upheld (he suggests the plan), but, in his treatise on

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[35]In his resumé Kipphardt links Lenz to Brecht. He is talking about Desportes' mysterious catarrh whereby Lenz applies the principle of unexpected change when he has Desportes rueful in IV,9 and vicious in V,1: "Lenzens Technik, seine Personen vorzuführen, ist in vieler Hinsicht eine Vorwegnahme epischer Prinzipien. Er führt Verhaltensweisen vor, die uns überraschen, die wir nach der vorausgegangenen Szene nicht erwartet haben" (IV,9, p.326).

the adaptation, Kipphardt basically concentrates on his role as a servant excercising his power over Marie as compensation for his oppressed position:

> Herr-Knecht-Verhältnis Sekretär-Desportes. [...] Interesse des Sekretärs am Liebesobjekt des Herrn. Die falsche Emanzipationsmöglichkeit des Sekretärs über das Liebesobjekt des Herrn. Auch im Dienst finden umfunktionierte Klassenkämpfe statt. Dienste machen den Sekretär unentbehrlich. Er geniesst, Eindringling in die Intimsphäre zu sein. Das Liebesobjekt des Herrn zu geniessen, ist ein Ersatz dafür, seine unterdrückte Lage ganz aufzuheben. (III,5, p.320).

This idea has all the appearance of an added commentary as it is not at all apparent from the text. The secretary comes across as a loyal henchman who serves his master,[34] however unpleasant the task. If he, too, can derive reward, that is just an added bonus. One cannot imagine the Jäger saw his gift of Marie as anything more than discarded crumbs from his master's table.

Characters who reflect Marie's home milieu

Kipphardt shows Marie's home life, its drabness, ~~its~~ restrictiveness in much greater detail and thus gives her more reason for wanting to break away. The greatest change in this respect is the more extensive inclusion of the grandmother. Obviously an old woman who does not accord with the wishes of the family (K.III,8), whose deafness and crabby voice can only grate, will not enhance the pleasure

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[34] Desportes is bewildered by his position (personal feelings in conflict with social position), therefore when the secretary attempts to make him see more clearly his true situation, and suggests a possible solution, he is only carrying out his duty.

of everyday life.[37]

Over and above this Charlotte is made more spiteful (I,1, p.316 and III,8, p.321). In the opening scene she ridicules Stolzius: "[...] der rot und bleich wird, wenn er eins nur anschaut" (K.I,1, p.189), and "[...] der allweil seufzt als wie ein krankes Ross, wenn er dich anredt" (K.I,1, p.190).[38] This reveals her jealousy of her sister's suitor. In K.I,5 she is more condemnatory of her sister; she is unconcerned about Marie's whereabouts and accuses her of lying, thus revealing greater displeasure. Like Marie she shows less respect for her father, appearing in K.III,4 as a know-it-all, not hesitant to tell her father she knew better all along: "Ich hab es Ihm [Wesener] gesagt, Er hat nicht hören wollen" (K.III,4, p.223). In K.III,3 she again expresses greater condemnation of her sister's way of life when she provocatively questions Marie about the junge Graf's visits. Not only is Charlotte more spiteful but she is also shown up for the selfish person she is (IV,7, p.326); after Marie has fled she is not concerned about her sister's welfare but about the consequences of the whole affair for her own future.

Kipphardt maintains the caricature of the spiteful sister Lenz created, but by expanding her vindictiveness and

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[37]Kipphardt again sees this greater plasticity in class terms. The grandmother is included to stress the everyday life of the "Bürgerfamilie", thus the developments of the play are supposed to have even greater effect against this backdrop (I,5, p.317).

[38]Overall in Kipphardt Stolzius is seen in a better light. By having the only major criticism of him come from Charlotte's mouth, Kipphardt nullifies its effect.

self-centredness he makes her more plastic and also gives Marie further cause to break away. This is continued by the one small alteration Kipphardt makes to the character of Frau Wesener. She does not approve of Marie's behaviour in Lenz, but she is prepared to help Marie, as shown when she suggests how Marie address the Gräfin on her unexpected visit (L.III,9). Kipphardt strikes this, thus leaving Marie to cope with the problem alone and making Frau Wesener less motherly.

The greatest change to the characters of Marie's home-life occurs in Wesener. Kipphardt stresses the economic servility of the middle class and this has quite dramatic consequences for Wesener's character. He is made more obsequious, more afraid of offending Desportes. Thus he greets him in a far more business-like manner, he no longer embraces the long-standing customer, and this is reflected in the cutting of Desportes' familiar "Vaterchen" response (L.I,3). Wesener must maintain this more flattering exterior in front of Desportes, thus, after he refuses Marie permission to go to the theatre, he can no longer show his annoyance at her continued pestering: "Willstu's Maul halten? niemand kennt, *tant pis* wenn ihr niemand kennt" (L.I,3, p.187) is altered to "[...] ich erlaubs nicht" (K.I,3, p.193), and his insistence that she does not wear a hair decoration is reserved until after Desportes has left. Not only must Wesener act in an unnatural manner when a member of the aristocracy is present, but throughout he is

no longer the *Brummbär* of Lenz. Towards the family the original Wesener presents a very gruff exterior. He chides Marie roughly, he tells his daughters to "shut up" (L.I,3, p.187 and L.I,5, p.195), and his reaction to Marie's theatre-visit is far stronger.[39] His kinder nature is far more deeply hidden, but affection for his children he does have; he taps Marie in a fatherly manner on the cheek and tells her not to take his gruffness too much to heart (L.I,3, p.189). This side of Wesener is made less conspicuous in Kipphardt, partially because his daughters show him less respect, and therefore he appears less authoritarian, but also because Kipphardt has cut a number of his crude remarks, reduced some stage directions and has him reward Marie for her obedience (he gives her Stolzius' letter to stop her from complaining [K.I,3]).[40] Thus he has less prominence as the head of the household. Therefore, it is less of a sin for Marie to go behind his back and his prejudices are easier to overcome as he is more conciliatory in nature.[41]

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[39]This is surprising when one considers that Kipphardt sees this episode as important in revealing the disruption of the family as "Eine andere Welt kommt in die Bürgerstube" (I,5, p.317). Basically Kipphardt is attempting a more consequential portrayal of a family's ruination and so strengthens the other members to the detriment of Wesener.

[40]Kipphardt states that he increases Wesener's patriarchal behaviour (I,5, p.317), but although he may appear more dictatorial in the supper scene, his authoritarian nature is not as apparent as in the original.

[41]However, it is clear Wesener knew Desportes as a young boy and this "intimacy" means that Wesener has greater reason to trust the officer and possibly to build his hopes higher (I,6, p.317).

The soldiers

On the whole, Kipphardt extends his use of caricature, making the soldiers crasser and more brutal. K.II,2 has the atmosphere of a pool hall and the soldiers are less jovial, as seen by Haudy's boorish behaviour towards Madame Roux. Rammler increases his innuendoes about Desportes and Marie to the tortured Stolzius,[42] and is also more vicious in his treatment of Aaron.

It is not only by highlighting a number of their cruel,senseless deeds that Kipphardt stresses the ill behaviour of the soldiers and their unpleasant world. He increases the role of Pirzel and has him present in more scenes so that he is seen, not only as a character in his own right, but also as a representative of the military. Kipphardt is adamant that Pirzel reflects the soldiers. For them, philosophy is just as much a sport as fencing, Pirzel is, therefore, enjoyed just as a duel would be (II,2, p.318), but paid no serious attention, which naturally reflects the playboy nature of the group. In Lenz Pirzel adds colour and is a superb example of caricature, but he appears infrequently as he has no plot function. Kipphardt gives him an important role and also heightens him as a figure of ridicule.[43]

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[42]Kipphardt states this is to make greater differentiation between Rammler's and Haudy's approach towards the hapless bridegroom (II,2, p.319).

[43]It is, therefore, strange that Kipphardt wishes Pirzel's logic to be more consequential and Kantian. However, this reflects the influence of Brecht's *Der Hofmeister* adaptation where Pätus is portrayed as a disciple of Kant and simultaneously heightened as a figure of fun.

Eisenhardt and Mary (along with the junge Graf) are the soldiers in Lenz who appear the most sympathetic, but Kipphardt paints them black too. Eisenhardt is less wise, partly because he appears more frequently with Pirzel,‘‘ and thus risks being tarred with the same brush, and also because a number of his critical asides about Pirzel (K.III,6) are cut so that he seems less discerning about his companion. Moreover, Kipphardt makes him more puritanical: he is the one to instigate the theatre discussion by overtly condemning it and referring to the facilities provided by the theatre management for "R and R". He is also less cool-headed and logical. Kipphardt cuts his explanation that he argues objectively and not out of personal affront:

> Sie könnten denken es mische sich persönliche Bitterkeit in meine Reden, und wenn ich in Feuer gerate so schwöre ich Ihnen doch, dass es bloss die Sache ist von der wir sprechen, nicht Ihre Spöttereien und Anzüglichkeiten über mein Amt. Das kann durch alle dergleichen witzige Einfälle weder verlieren noch gewinnen. (L.I,4, p.192).

He also has Eisenhardt sink to Haudy's level when he childishly reacts to Haudy's cursing and calls names after him. In his resumé Kipphardt stresses that he wants to show the armchair-reformer nature of Eisenhardt (I,4, p.317). It is true that Eisenhardt is incapable of providing an effective solution in Lenz, but he does leave the impression of a serious character who would amend if he could. Kipphardt wants to accentuate his comic nature; again the

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‘‘However, Pirzel is a captain and thus, in rank, a more suitable conversation partner for the chaplain so that Kipphardt does have a logical reason to increase their discussions together.

chance of reform is viewed as futile.

The alterations to Mary's character are not as easily explicable. On the one hand, less differentiation is made between him and the other brutish, unthinking officers: he is more involved in the theatre argument and takes Haudy's side, he refers to Aaron crudely, he pokes around in the recruit's mouth, seeing the man as cannon-fodder, not as a person, he actively encourages Marie to deceive the Gräfin, and is seen as master when Stolzius, in his role of batman, dresses him on stage (K.IV,1). These additions would make him concur with Kipphardt's greater emphasis on the oppressive behaviour of the upper classes. Yet he also has more of an eye for the distress of others. He remembers Stolzius as Marie's fiancé and is worried whether he is still upset (K.III,7), he reacts to Stolzius' ditty in K.IV,5,[45] and, as a number of slight criticisms of Marie in K.V,1 are cut, he appears to be more understanding of why she acted as she did. However, these are less obvious alterations so that, on the whole, Mary, too, can be seen as more caricature than rounded character.

Lenz criticizes the soldiers and their lifestyle harshly but, simultaneously, he shows this to be a result of their lack of purpose, as the difference between the junge Graf and Haudy or Rammler makes clear. The former is a recent recruit to the officer corps who still retains some

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[45]Kipphardt sees this reaction as negative (IV,1, p.324), because the previous conversation reveals that Mary has forgotten Stolzius' relationship with Marie.

sensibility, the latter are long-standing members and are far more cruel and conniving. Kipphardt, too, emphasises the effect of the soldiers' situation in determining their behaviour: "Langeweile der Soldaten. Vergnügungssucht, der Langeweile zu entrinnen. Streit als Spass. Ewig kein Krieg gewesen. Ungebrochener Feudalismus" (I,4, p.317). Again he places the play within its class context, the soldiers exploit others because they are thinly disguised feudal lords. This means that it is their social class which necessitates their actions, therefore, far less differentiation is made between them and thus, again, there is little hope that things could alter. Even were their life to achieve purpose (which Lenz is trying to give them in his "solution"), they would, in Kipphardt, still act as lords and masters.

The aristocracy

Kipphardt is faced with a major difficulty in reworking the play for modern audiences; the aristocracy is almost an anachronism in modern society and is certainly no longer a focal point of serious dramatic study. The vast majority of plays with class protagonism as their theme deal with the middle and working classes; the aristocracy is a spent force, therefore it normally only serves comic interest. However, Lenz's play deals with them as an important social group so Kipphardt has to afford them attention and attempt to make them credible as a social force. His ploy is to make

them the devils of the piece.

Lenz's aristocrats fall into two camps, the exploitative soldiers and the philanthropic Gräfin and the Graf von Spannheim. Kipphardt maintains, indeed, highlights the soldiers as selfish and prepared to sacrifice even one of their own number (Rammler) in their search for a diversion from the inanity of peace-time life. However, he does not maintain the reverse side of the aristocracy, that of paternal/maternal elements of society, who are willing to help the less fortunate and who are affected by the inequalities of life. That Lenz intended to show their more generous side is apparent in the figure of the Gräfin; she serves no important plot function (Marie could just as easily have fled from home), but is important to show the positive facet of aristocratic philosophy. Kipphardt does not portray her as cynically as the other aristocrats but, nevertheless, she is less sympathetic, less motherly.[‘‘] She is also more biased when she appears ambiguous on the question of whether Marie brought her poor reputation upon herself. Kipphardt replaces "[...] ich weiss dass Jungfer Wesenern nicht in dem besten Ruf steht, ich glaube nicht aus ihrer Schuld, das arme Kind soll hintergegangen worden sein" (L.III,8, p.223), with "Sie [Fräulein Anklam] weiss, dass Jungfer Wesener nicht im besten Rufe steht, ob mit, ob ohne Schuld –" (K.III,8, p.232), which not only has her doubt

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‘‘Not only is she less motherly towards Marie but, as Kipphardt strikes a number of stage directions which illustrate affection between her and her son, she appears more dictatorial.

Marie, but also reveals her first priority is to save her son's prospective marriage and her care of Marie is not disinterested.[4'] The Graf von Spannheim is also less diplomatic, reformatory and less concerned to make amends for the disgraceful behaviour of one of his men.

The result of hardening the hearts of the aristocracy and making them essentially a class of repression, allows the middle class to be seen in a better light. They are forced to act as they do because of their economic and social situation and they also have no peers whom they can respect and whose decent behaviour they can emulate. Obviously, too, there can be no change within the framework of society as Kipphardt's upper classes could never propose it and carry it through. The question to be answered is whether these alterations, to give the play a Marxist backbone, will make the play more acceptable to a modern audience, or whether the aristocracy is still too remote. As the latter would appear to be the case, it would have been preferable to have left the play in its Lenzian format, whereby the aristocracy is more plastic because certain members show a human face. This gives the play hope and it is this hope which lends the play some of its delight. The removal of this hope of progress makes the drama far more fixed, an arid period piece with little relevance for any

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4'Kipphardt's treatise gives a lot of space to explaining the alterations made to the Gräfin's character. The changes all have the same root: the Gräfin acts, not out of the goodness of her heart, but to protect her class interests. If her kindness is ever accentuated, it is only to show what can be achieved by it (III,10, p.322f. and IV,3, p.324f.).

audience.

Stolzius

Lenz's Stolzius is a character to be pitied, not admired. He first appears as almost laughable, tied to his mother's apron strings and with a bandaged head. He is helpless; he can neither command Marie's love nor avoid the officers' innuendoes, nor can he even vocalise his own torture but is reduced to the allegory of song or disjointed rambling.

Kipphardt's Stolzius is a far more positive character, more lucid and consequential. At no point does he appear head swathed in bandages and, overall, he has more to say. He speaks 87 lines in Lenz, 110 in Kipphardt, a substantial rise when one considers that he appears in fewer scenes. The majority of his new lines give him the opportunity to voice his feelings. Thus in K.I,2 he feels unwell: "So heiss und kalt, und die Gedanken kreuz und quer, mir tut der Kopf weh" (K.I,2, p.190), he describes the last time he saw Marie, states that he would commit suicide if she turned from him and voices the fear she may have forgotten him. Kipphardt makes the point that his love for Marie is genuine, if boundless, and not so obsessive by making the feelings more concrete (I,2, p.316).

Stolzius is no exception to the emphasis laid on the economic servility of the middle class. K.II,1 opens with Haudy referring to a recent deal he has assisted

in. Stolzius, although still generally reticent, has noticed the differences in Marie's letters, is seen on closer terms with the officers,[‘‘] again mentions suicide and, more importantly, murder: "Ich könnte mich den Augenblick ins Wasser stürzen, wenn ich dem Ding nachdenke – Ich brächt ihn um" (K.II,1, p.206). It would be ludicrous to suggest that Stolzius' murder plan begins here, although Kipphardt makes it clear Stolzius enlists to plan revenge, not to keep an eye on his beloved,[‘‘] and this automatically makes him more consequential and determined (III,3, p.319). Stolzius' behaviour in the officers' "club" also shows him in slightly better light. He is still embarrassed about entering the enclaves of the coffee-house but his initial speech has an air of more confidence. He leaves "bleich", not "wankend"; the news (and the strong tobacco) affect him still, but he carries himself with dignity (II,2, p.319). His third appearance again reflects his greater confidence and consequentiality. Again his head is unbandaged and, as Kipphardt strikes a number of bathetic stage directions, he comes over as less ridiculous. He also states that he must see Desportes "Auge in Auge", a reflection of the Old Testament idea of revenge, and the scene ends with a remark out-of-character for the Lenzian figure: "Ich seh jetzt

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[‘‘]Kipphardt makes specific reference to Stolzius' relationship to Mary so that his appearance in Lille to enlist as Mary's batman comes as no surprise (III,7, p.321).

[‘‘]There has been much discussion on Stolzius' motive for enlisting. Although there is some evidence for the revenge motive (see Osborne, p.129 and Lorenz, p.191), I feel to grant such far-sightedness to Stolzius runs counter to the more illogical, demented side to his character.

alles klar" (K.III,3, p.220). His arrival in Lille shows him to be more level-headed as he is able to feign disregard for Marie. Later, in K.IV,5, the audience sees that he has been keeping his ear to the ground and knows exactly of Desportes' whereabouts; the repetition of the folk song re-iterates the revenge motive (IV,5, p.325). Kipphardt strikes his monologue in L.IV,11 for justifiable reasons, but its exclusion again shows Stolzius as less weak.

It is only his last appearance in which he is taciturn. However, the alterations vary the motivation to some extent; it could be interpreted that Stolzius perpetrates murder for personal revenge, not to avenge Marie. Kipphardt uses lines from the missing L.IV,11: "Müssen die denn zittern, die unrecht leiden, und die fröhlich sein, die unrecht tun" (K.V,1, p.250), which is a far more general explanation for his actions than Lenz's "Wenn ihr nicht leben könnt, ohne Frauenzimmer unglücklich zu machen, warum wendt ihr euch an die, die euch nicht widerstehen können, die euch aufs erste Wort glauben" (L.V,3, p.242).[50] However, Kipphardt's Stolzius makes no specific reference to avenging Marie,[51] and, in his hatred, attempts to pull Desportes to his feet so that the more personal aspect of revenge is heightened.

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[50] In Lenz this death scene appraisal of the general situation prepares for the solution to be offered in the final scene. As Kipphardt removes the seriousness from the last scene, this passage could be dispensed with in this respect.

[51] Although he calls out Marie's name three times, it is not explicit that he is avenging her treatment, which the line: "Das [vergiftet] bist du,ja! *Von mir, von Stolzius, dessen Braut* du zur Hure machtest" (K.V,1, p.250, my italics) only compounds.

It would appear that Kipphardt has made Stolzius more credible and thus made the murder more plausible. Stolzius is more aware and more logical, attributes one would like to see in an exploited class, and Desportes' murder can, in the revised version, be seen as a greater blow struck for the bourgeoisie. Stolzius kills Desportes for the ill he has caused him, less for the obsessive love he bore Marie, and thus it becomes a less specific act. Kipphardt goes much further than this in his resumé, seeing the murder as a revolutionary act, carrying all the consequences of a revolution with it:

> Die Szene ist die Revolution im Stück, die gewaltsame Umwerfung der gegebenen Herrschaftsverhältnisse quasi im Wassertropfen. In dieser Szene ermordet nicht nur ein Bräutigam den Verderber seiner Braut, sondern auch ein Soldat seinen Offizier, ein Bürger einen Feudalherrn, ein Gepeinigter seinen Peiniger. Da zeigt sich als ein Wolf, was ein dressierter Hund schien. Unbändiger Hass ist unbändige Lust. Das Weltgericht findet statt auf einer Offizierstube. (V,1, p.327)

Kipphardt is consequential in his alterations to the character of Stolzius; throughout he is more lucid, level-headed and capable of devising and enacting a plan. A plausible character, yes, but whether he is synonymous with the weak, obsessed, laughable, pathetic figure of Lenz is a different matter. Lenz's Stolzius is not the representative of a class and his actions are undertaken for personal reasons, in that they avenge his fiancée's treatment. Kipphardt's Stolzius is no leader for bourgeois rights and he, too, commits suicide, but his more positive nature would imply hope for those in the future who disagree with the

aristocratic hold over the rest of society.

A review of the critics[52]

A number of the critics surveyed here are reviewing Kipphardt's play in production. This thesis has been concerned with the drama as a text and the interpretation is a result of close textual analysis, which naturally allows for far greater detail than could be achieved from watching a performance, where visual impact and an individual director's perception of the work play a vital role.

Almost all the critics point out the fact that Kipphardt has accentuated the class differences, in fact, that he uses the iniquities of the class structure as the theme of his play. McInnes (p.132) views this as an attempt to make the play more appealing to modern audiences. Ziemann

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[52]The critics who review the play in performance are: Wolfgang Drews, "Lenz von Kipphardt *Die Soldaten* in den Münchener Kammerspielen," in *F.A.Z.*, 29.12.1970; Hans Schwab-Felisch, "Schade um Lenz Kipphardt's Bearbeitung der *Soldaten* in Düsseldorf," in *F.A.Z.*, 20.8.1968 and his slightly more expansive article "Deutlicher oder gröber? Heinar Kipphardts Bearbeitung der *Soldaten* von Lenz in Düsseldorf," in *Theater heute*, 9 (Oct. 1968), 25–26; and four abbreviated reviews published in McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz*: Ivan Nagel, in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21.12.1970 (pp.187–88); Wolfgang Drews, in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 6.1.1971 (pp.188–89); Horst Ziemann, in *Die Welt*, 8.4.1974 (pp.189–90); Mechthild Lange, in *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22.4.1974 (pp.190–91). There are also a number of critics who have made a study of the text: Walter Hinck, "Kipphardt erschöpft? Zu seinen gesammelten Theaterstücken," in *F.A.Z.*, 9.3.1974; Karl H. Schoeps, "Zwei moderne Lenz-Bearbeitungen," in *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, 67 (1975), 437–451; René Giraud, "Théâtre et Vie Quotidienne,"; Elizabeth Genton, "Quelques Lenziana..."; John Osborne, *J.M.R. Lenz*; and Edward McInnes, *J.M.R. Lenz*. The critics will be referred to by name only in the text; the Drews and Schwab-Felisch articles will be differentiated by an abbreviation of the journal they appear in.

gives this greater emphasis on class a different twist, when he feels that the purpose of the work is to show up the middle class for what it was and thus point out why there was no bourgeois revolution in Germany. It is interesting to note that Ziemann and Lange criticise Jürgen Flimm's production in the Thalia-Theater in Hamburg for the fact that he underplayed the class theme and made a play of emotions out of the piece. However, Giraud (p.295) questions whether Kipphardt even manages to keep to the Lenz text. He feels the two do not deal with the same theme; Kipphardt's play has at heart the overthrow of the class system, Lenz's whole point is that total demolition of a class system is an illusion.

Kipphardt's imitation of Lenzian language comes in for praise.[53] Schwab-Felisch, in both his articles, and Nagel are impressed by the good imitation and also point out that Kipphardt uses dialogue far more than Lenz as this is his means of making the play more expository. McInnes, however, criticises Kipphardt for making a subtle alteration to the characters; they have become more lucid and thus they appear more aware of their dilemma:

> Im Sinne einer grösseren Klarheit vernachlässigt Kipphardt in weiterer Folge auch die subtile, indirekte und zuweilen tatsächlich schwer erfassbare Methode der Charakterzeichnung, wie sie von Lenz in Pionierarbeit geleistet worden ist. Damit aber rührt er an die Konzeption der Charaktere auf eine Weise,

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[53] This thesis has paid little attention to this aspect because Kipphardt has followed Lenz's pattern exceptionally well. Thus, on first reading, the major additions of Kipphardt are not overly noticeable because they accord so well with the original language.

> die er erklärtermassen nicht intendiert hat. Jene Fähigkeit zur Erklärung der eigenen Person und der eigenen Situation, mit der er sie ausstattet, deutet auf die potentielle Fähigkeit hin, sich selbst und die eigene Lage zu verstehen, was aber mit der Präsentation ihres ohnmächtigen Ausgesetztseins gegenüber den gesellschaftlichen Mächten, die in Kipphardts Version, sowie in Lenzens Originalfassung, der dramatischen Konzeption zugrunde liegt, in eklatantem Widerspruch steht.[54]

This leads onto the question of whether Kipphardt, by giving the play a firmer structure, has lost the subtlety of the original. The critics are somewhat divided on this. Schoeps (p.444), Schwab-Felisch (*F.A.Z.*), and Lange praise Kipphardt for giving the play a dramatic backbone, making it structurally sound and less obscure, while Genton (p.392), Giraud (p.295), and McInnes (p.134) feel that the more explicit nature of the Kipphardt loses the spontaneity and finesse of the original. Drews, in both articles, makes the point that Kipphardt has emphasised the rationalist, enlightenment side to Lenz and ignored the power and irregularity of *Sturm und Drang*: "Kipphardt will nicht Sturm und Drang (den er vermutlich für ein literarhistorisches Klischee hält), er spürt aufklärerischen Zügen des Dichters nach".[55] He feels that this ignorance of the unevenness and difficulty of the original means the adaptation is almost a course in "Lenz for idiots":

> Liefert er [Kipphardt] zur weiteren Verdeutlichung Einwuchs, folgt er der grassierenden Mode, Theater für Zurückgebliebene zu machen, die nichts begreifen, was sie nicht vor Augen sehen, die nur empfinden, was ihnen an den Kopf knallt [...] Das Stück wird leicht verständlich aber sein Schmelz ist

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[54] McInnes, p.133.
[55] Drews, "Lenz von Kipphardt," in *F.A.Z.* 29.12.1970.

verschenkt. Rationalisierung als Primitivisierung.[56]

The use of seduction on stage, especially K.I,6, comes in for much criticism. Both Schoeps (p.444) and Genton (p.392) feel Kipphardt is bowing to the whim of the public and the general consensus is that the bed scene is easily misinterpreted. Schoeps (p.444) says it could quickly lose its effectiveness by seeming melodramatic, naive and sentimental, and Giraud (p.295) points out that K.IV,8 is an absurd repetition of the scene. Drews (*N.Z.Z.*) condemns the overall stress on the erotic and the seedy as "Theatercoups" and Schwab-Felisch (both articles) thinks the bed scene should be struck immediately; it is grotesque, farcical and gives the audience a completely false impression.[57]

Generally, little attention has been paid to the alterations made to characters, the secretary being the major exception. He is associated with Schiller's Wurm (Schwab-Felisch [*F.A.Z.*] and Genton [p.392]). Nagel feels that the use of the secretary makes the situation too explicit and that, although monologues present some difficulties for the modern actor, they do have their benefits. McInnes (p.134) is adamant that the use of the secretary reveals a gaping flaw in the work; if Kipphardt is stressing the exploitative nature of the upper classes, it is contradictory for a member of the exploited class to be

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[56]Drews, *F.A.Z.*.

[57]However, of all the critics, Schwab-Felisch is the most complimentary. He feels that, were the bed scene removed and the play given to a different director than Ponelle, who premiered the play, it would deserve success (see *F.A.Z.*).

party to the scheme. There are two opposing opinions on the murder scene: Drews (*F.A.Z.*) places it firmly as an act of class revenge, whereas Schwab-Felisch (*F.A.Z.*) merely views it as Stolzius' opportunity to regain his dignity. Most critics simply include the anti-semitism presented in the play in their comments on its greater class awareness, but Schoeps (p.445), praises Kipphardt for removing the stock comic figure of the Jew and making him believably tragic. Drews (*N.Z.Z.*), however, feels that the whole episode is expendable; the pranks of the officers are well enough illustrated without complicating the matter with anti-semitism. Marie elicits very little attention: Nagel is the only critic to mention her as a character and he basically thinks that the complexity of her character is simplified so that she becomes a victim of circumstance. Although the text would imply that Desportes has been made a more sympathetic character, this does not come across in performance where he is still seen as the unscrupulous villain of the piece (Drews [*F.A.Z.*] and Osborne, p.136[55]).

The revised ending of the play has aroused far more comment. There is a general realisation that the sinister undertones of the original, as developed in the *Lebensborn* scheme, mean that the reform cannot be used literally, but the opinions are divided on Kipphardt's solution. Schoeps (p.446) feels the revised ending turns the whole play into a

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[55]Osborne (p.136) does make the point, however, that Desportes' seduction of Marie in K.I,6 emphasises the fact that corruption is now within the Wesener household.

farce, it runs contrary to the increased social comment and contradicts the spirit of the play. Drews (*F.A.Z.*), whilst admitting it brings the play back to the comic after its brush with tragedy, sees it as Kipphardt's moral correction of Lenz. Schwab-Felisch and Osborne compliment the employment of Pirzel. Osborne feels the use of Pirzel "testifies to the absurdity of consistent rationalism,"[59] which would make the play accord with Lenz's own opinion of excessive logic. Schwab-Felisch also praises the implications the revised end contains. As Pirzel makes the suggestion, it shows that the officers, as an entity, remain unaffected (*F.A.Z.*), and Pirzel has the tone of an Utopian outsider as well as giving the solution a pseudo-enlightened viewpoint (*T.h.*, p.26). Not only that, but the cruelty implicit in the suggestion is emphasised: "[dieser Gedanke] gewinnt, gerade weil ihn ein philosophischer Kopf entwickelt, an kategorischer Absolutheit, in deren Wesen der Umschlag in die Barbarei bereits begründet liegt".[60] Generally Schwab-Felisch praises Kipphardt for making Pirzel more than the "blasses Randdasein"[61] he was in the original and he thinks that Pirzel's discussion of military improvements forces the audience to distance itself from the play and think forward to the atom bomb (*T.h.*, p.25).[62]

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[59]Osborne, p.158.
[60]Schwab-Felisch, "Schade um Lenz".
[61]Schwab-Felisch, "Deutlicher oder gröber," p.25.
[62]This is highly unlikely since the theme of the play is, otherwise, not forward-looking. Schoeps (p.445) makes the point, however, that the military additions are true to Lenz when one considers that he was recognised as well-versed in military affairs.

The point is made (Schoeps, p.437, Osborne, p.157) that, in an age where adaptations are almost seen as a genre in their own right,[63] Kipphardt's play should be seen from the viewpoint of a classic made relevant to today's society. Both Schoeps (p.443) and Schwab-Felisch (*T.h.*, p.25) feel that first glance at either *Stücke* II or the theatre programme of the premiere would appear to confirm the play as a radical adaptation as neither make any specific reference to Lenz; the play would seem to be a new work. It does not take long before this is shown to be false. The play is nowhere near as radical as a Brecht or Hacks *Bearbeitung*, it does not make the audience take a critically distanced look at the original (McInnes, p.132), and it is a commonplace alteration,[64] although McInnes (p.132) believes that Kipphardt has made more sweeping changes than he is prepared to admit to.[65]

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[63]Brecht's adaptations have been fundamental in forming this opinion and Peter Hacks' revision of *Die Kindsmörderin* also falls into this category.

[64]See Schwalb-Felisch, "Deutlicher oder gröber," p.25.

[65]McInnes is generally critical of Kipphardt although he does praise him (p.131) for bringing *Die Soldaten* back into the limelight.

Conclusion

It took ninety-one years for *Die Soldaten* to be premiered and then only in a very bastardized form.[1] This inauspicious introduction to the stage has continued down to the present.[2] 1916 saw the first production which was true to the text, but even a director of the calibre of Max Reinhardt was unable to elicit much success. Bernd Alois Zimmermann's opera (1965), using the text as libretto, suffered the same fate. Thus when Kipphardt turned his attention to the work, there had yet to be an acclaimed dramatization.

Die Soldaten is a problem play. Over and above the irregularities in plot and the confusion over its final scene, it demands technical skill in production with its swift scene changes. Despite these difficulties Kipphardt felt the play deserved redemption from the miserable obscurity to which it had been condemned. His intention was not the almost total overhaul which Brecht had undertaken in *Der Hofmeister*, but an operation which was far more delicate. In certain respects Kipphardt has proven a very capable surgeon. His appreciation of the original language is exceptional. As Chapter Three revealed, Kipphardt made a

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[1]The title, "Soldatenliebchen", illustrates the sugary slant Eduard von Bauernfeld gave the play in his 1863 production.
[2]Elizabeth Genton's *Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz et la scène allemande* (updated in her "Quelques Lenziana..." article), is the definitive work on the play in production.

surprisingly large number of additions to, as well as deleting a sizeable amount of, the Lenz text. On initial perusal of the revised version the majority of these changes pass unnoticed; they are not even particularly apparent on second reading, so well has Kipphardt approximated Lenz. There is no forced imitation of the original language, the modern additions blend in superbly, neither parodying nor conflicting with Lenz's personal style. Some praise is also due to Kipphardt's attempt to unravel the knotted yarn of the Lenz plot and then darn a number of its holes. However, as this thesis has shown, Kipphardt's revisions have done more than reveal the "verdeckte Schönheiten"[3] of the original. Kipphardt would appear to have seen Lenz as a closet Marxist and, therefore, he has interpreted the play as an early illustration of the iniquities of the class system. Lenz was by no means unaware of the importance of social rank and its influence over an individual's life. However, Lenz looks forward to a time when classes will be able to live in harmony: Kipphardt has made of this dream the hope that one day the class system will be overthrown.

Lenz's view of society has, at its root, the opinion that all stations are at fault. Kipphardt does not totally disregard this – the bourgeoisie is certainly not painted heroically – but his portrait is undeniably more monochrome: the aristocracy sport Machiavellian grins, the middle class dress in the fashion of Uriah Heep. In his attempt to make

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[3] *Stücke* II, p.253.

the play more approachable Kipphardt has over-simplified. The jigsaw-puzzle of Lenz's plot is complete, Kipphardt's play provides all the fun of doing yesterday's paper's crossword: the spaces have been filled, whether or not the answers are correct. Thus the audience is left in no doubt as to Marie's fate; they have seen, in graphic detail, her gradual fall from a girl in love to a call-girl. The seduction scenes portrayed border on farce (I,6) or soft porn (IV,8); there is nothing of the erotic subtlety of Lenz.

More than anything, it is this loss of the hidden beauty of Lenz which means that Kipphardt's version will go the way of all previous revisions,* namely into obscurity. Kipphardt does not tiptoe through the delicate subtleties of Lenz, rather he has put on size eleven boots to trample his way to over-simplification of a play, the very value and point of which is its complexity. Lenz, as Chapter One shows, was not afraid of the crasser side of life. He was not writing exclusively for a genteel audience and, therefore, would use exaggeration, caricature and unsavoury subjects to make his point. Kipphardt has sharpened this aspect of Lenz and coupled it with a viewpoint that can only be cognizable to a post-industrial society. It is this imposition of an anachronism which means that Kipphardt has failed in his avowed attempt to change the play only where necessary.

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*There have been six to this date. See Genton, "Quelques Lenziana...", p.392.

However, although Kipphardt has reworked the play more than he realises, or is prepared to admit, it does not amount to a new play. It is almost as if it has been approached as an historical document; indeed the *Bearbeitung* contains a number of the salient features of a documentary drama. It accords with its source, uses this as a firm basis but contains enough of the author to merit the title of drama, and has some kind of political intent. Thus Kipphardt falls between two stools: his adaptation contains enough changes from the original to make it more than just a simple revision, yet not enough alteration to stand up independently as a work in its own right.[5]

The final question to be answered is whether *Die Soldaten* required adaptation at all.[6] If a work of the complexity of Büchner's *Woyzeck* can play to critical acclaim and packed houses, it is not Lenz's drama itself which is really at fault. What *Die Soldaten* needs is not revision but

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[5]See Schoeps (p.450): "Kipphardt [...] versuchte beides: möglichst nah am Text zu bleiben und dennoch revolutionär zu wirken. Dabei setze er sich jedoch zwischen zwei Stühlen. Gemessen an Brechts *Hofmeister* ist seine Bearbeitung trotz aller Verdienste nur eine Etüde".

[6]Opinions are divided on this. Schoeps (p.449) thinks that the theatre is in danger of becoming a dramatic preservation society if it sticks too closely to the originals of older plays; certain plays need reworking to make them relevant and *Die Soldaten* is one of them. In this he is supported by Siegfried Melchinger, in a review of a 1971 production of the Lenz text, who considers the theme of "teutsche Misere" gives just as much scope for adaptation as the private tutor system allowed Brecht (Siegfried Melchinger, "Etude für Schauspieler Lenz *Soldaten* Staatstheater Stuttgart", in *Theater heute*, 12 [Aug. 1971], 16). McInnes (*J.M.R. Lenz*, p.135) and Ziemann (*Die Welt*, 8.4.1974) maintain that the Lenz original is more than capable of performance as it stands.

a director *with* vision. The piece has been waiting for over 200 years for its place on the German stage. Kipphardt makes a valiant attempt, but any reworking which unwittingly parodies the author of the original (as Kipphardt's last scene has been proven to do), when it is striving to give that author his due, can ultimately only be deemed a failure. The theatre will have to wait a little longer for this particular jewel; until that time the text alone will have to serve as a refreshing reminder of the vivacity and raw beauty contained in Lenz's *Die Soldaten*.

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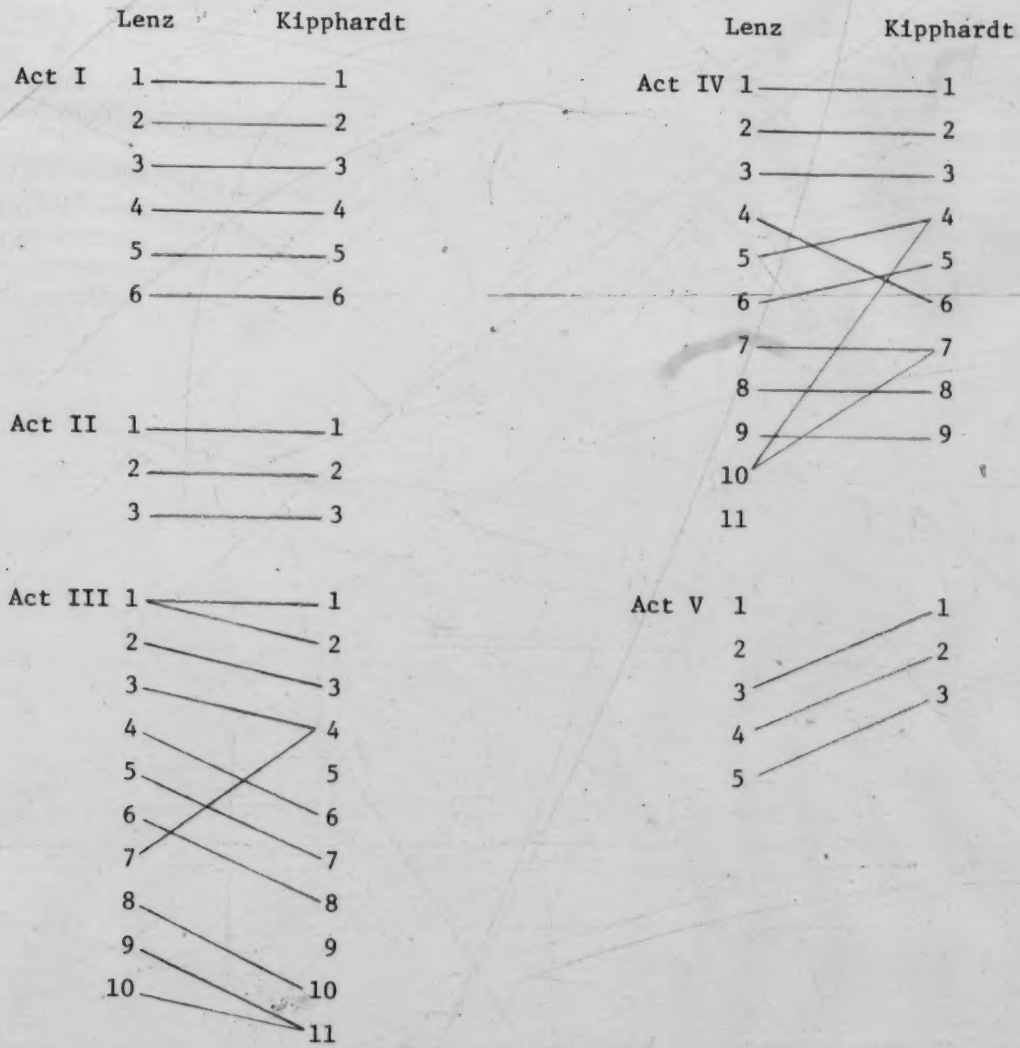
I. Appendix

A. Diagram A